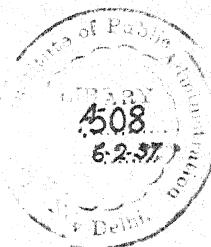


BENGAL
UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

BENGAL UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS;

*A NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS AND
PUBLIC MEASURES DURING THEIR PERIODS
OF OFFICE, FROM 1854 TO 1898.*

BY
C. E. BUCKLAND, C. I. E.,
OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.



“The position of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has become by much the most important of any under the Supreme Government
SIR G. CHESNEY, “INDIAN POLITY,” p. 92.

“The fact is that the Bengal Government is in every way a great charge
—far the greatest Local Government in India.”
SIR G. CAMPBELL, “Memoirs,” Vol. II : p. 199.

IN TWO VOLUMES;

(With 14 Illustrations.)

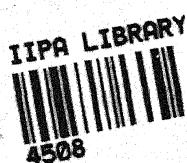
VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION.

CALCUTTA;

KEDARNATH BOSE, B. A.

64, AKHIL MISTRY'S LANE.



1902.

PRINTED BY H. D. GHOSE, AT THE HINDU MACHINE PRESS,
64, AKHIL MISTRY'S LANE, CALCUTTA.

P R E F A C E.

IT must be the common experience of all who have passed middle life to find that important events in which they took part, and great men with whom they were well-acquainted, are absolutely unknown to the rising generation. I certainly have been much struck with the general want of information of the comparatively recent history of Bengal during the last thirty years. Traditions linger here and there : certain names are associated with particular occurrences : but such recollections are often inaccurate and always incomplete. The reason is not far to seek. There is no connected "history of our own times" in Bengal. There are excellent gazetteers, reports, statistical accounts, and books of reference ; but such works may not be readily available : they are sometimes dry reading, ~~yes~~ : rare they require search and study.

The object of these volumes is to supply the want of a continuous narrative of the official history, the principal events, and the personalities of a definite period. It is chiefly a compilation, as it is based on verbatim extracts from Administration Reports, Gazettes, official papers, books (some of standard merit, and others less known to fame), newspapers, and other public sources. An effort has been made to include every matter of importance in Bengal, and to give such an account in each instance as should satisfy either the ordinary or the official reader. Figures have necessarily been reproduced where essential, but statistics have been generally avoided. Documents have sometimes been quoted *in extenso* : in other cases the narrative is much condensed. To those who read for amusement only, such a compilation will present but few attractions : those who seek information will, it is hoped, find it in a handy form. In the abundance of materials the difficulty of selection has been considerable. "The art, like all art," as has been said, "consists in seeing and seizing the right facts and giving them prominence." As the work does not aim at being an encyclopaedia, it is impossible to satisfy everybody, but a future edition, if called for, can supply any obvious omissions which may be brought to light.

The name of the work—"BENGAL UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS"—has been deliberately chosen, to indicate not only the scene, but the principal personages of the period which forms its subject. The rulers of a Province more extensive than many European kingdoms exercise (although subordinate to the Government of India) large powers and a wider influence. For five years they may be held responsible for the welfare of over seventy millions. The charge is one of the heaviest under the Crown, the position one of the most honourable, and those who have held the charge and the position deserve to be remembered in the Province (at least) where they have ruled. They are responsible not only for any policy they may initiate, but for their manner of dealing with events as they occur. Famines, cyclones, floods, earthquakes, "wars and rumours of wars, a falling exchange, grave alternations of agricultural depression and prosperity, serious changes of policy affecting the revenues of the State,—all these things form a series of events beyond the control of the Province Government, which are liable to recur at any moment, and which constantly threaten the security of the Provincial finances"—at the least they upset all calculations, and derange the finances on which all administrative policy and projects depend. The following chapters will show how some Lieutenant-Governors have been fortunate in escaping such catastrophes, whereas others have experienced and combated them: some have been able to carry out a preconceived policy, others have been compelled, or have chosen, to be opportunists: all—as may safely be said of any high English officer—have been actuated by a high sense of public duty. Possibly this record of events and measures of importance may be of some use to their successors. Some observations have been offered on the main policy and events of each period, as well as the personal characteristics of each Lieutenant-Governor. "In the main posterity must accept the findings of contemporaries on questions of character." For obvious reasons, the work ends with the close of the administration of the last-retired Lieutenant-Governor.

In transliterating from Indian languages the names of persons and places, and technical terms, the latest orders of the Government of Bengal (of February 1892) have been followed: the spelling of vernacular words has varied so greatly and so often between 1854 and 1898 that the reproduction of the words as spelt by the original

writer in each case would have presented a very unscholarly appearance in the work as a whole : in the orders above-mentioned some concession was made to historical and literary usage in respect of certain words : the general principle followed was the system adopted by the late Sir W. W. Hunter, K. C. S. I. Although some Lieutenant-Governors have not been knighted until the middle or end of their tenure of office, I have, to avoid pedantry, called them "Sir—" throughout—except in quotations. Some additional matter has been included in Appendices, which will, it is hoped, prove of interest. Belvedere is the subject of a special notice : it is a house surrounded with historical and official associations. Brief lives have been prepared of a number of Native gentlemen who have been prominent and influential during the years 1854-1898 : they have been collected together in an Appendix, so as to avoid interrupting the main account of each Administration. Lists are given of the Chief Justices, Judges, Members of the Board of Revenue and their Secretaries, of the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries to Government, and of the Members of the Bengal Legislative Council, for the period under treatment. A brief Glossary of most of the vernacular words occurring in the volumes has been added. A catalogue of the books and works consulted is included.

I had hoped to finish these volumes (which have been prepared simultaneously with the discharge of official duties) in the rare hours of leisure that can sometimes be found, but unforeseen circumstances have rendered it necessary to produce them under the greatest pressure of work, without extending my researches or completing my inquiries as I should have liked. I must enter this plea in palliation of the many deficiencies which will doubtless be noticed. But if the volumes serve for a time to record the names and achievements of distinguished men, to convey some knowledge of the modern history of Bengal, and to be of some practical use for reference, they will not have been composed in vain.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to many brother officers and others who have helped me with their advice, support and encouragement, and equally to my Indian friends and fellow-workers who have laboured loyally and cheerfully to carry out my design.

CALCUTTA, January 1901.

C. E. B.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN the Second Edition, some small corrections have been made, where required, and a few more lives of prominent and influential Indian gentlemen have been added.

While this Edition was being carried through the Press, the first Lieutenant Governor, Sir F. J. Halliday, K. C. B., passed away on the 22nd October 1901, aged 94 years and nearly 10 months, and in December 1901, the Nawab Sir Khwaja Ahsanullah Bahadur, K. C. I. E., died suddenly ; the observations of Government on the latter's death have been quoted at the end of the short account of his life. Otherwise the text has not been altered.

CALCUTTA, February, 1902.

C. E. B.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

CHAPTER I.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES HALLIDAY, K.C.B.

1854—59.

Early Career—Lieutenant-Governor—Accession to Office—Bengal—Military Force—Education Despatch—The Calcutta University—Minute on Education—The Sonthal Insurrection—Public Thanksgiving, Lord Dalhousie's Proclamation—The *chaukidari* or local Police Act—Calcutta Municipal Acts—Excise—The Hindu Widows Remarriage Act—Police—Communications—Railways; the East Indian Railway—Revision of Civil Salaries—*Charak* Puja—Tours—Sir F. Halliday's influence—The mutinies—Proclamation—The Calcutta Volunteer Guards; The Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry—Panic Sunday—Press Act—Removal of Mr. W. Tayler, C. S. from the Commissionership of Patna—Death of Bishop Wilson—Thanks accorded to Sir F. Halliday by Parliament and the Court of Directors—Assumption of the Government by the Crown—The great Land Acts of 1859—Lord Canning's Minute on the Mutiny Services of Officers—Reply to Farewell Address—Sir F. Halliday as a musician—Retirement—K. C. B.—Secretary of State's Council...Page 1

APPENDIX.

Minute on “The Mutinies as they affected the Lower Provinces under the Government of Bengal, 1858.”—A *Suttee* Anecdote. ... Page 65

CHAPTER II.

SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

1859—62.

Previous Career—Reputation—Anticipation—Brief Sketch of Lieutenant-Governorship—Education—Day of Thanksgiving after the Mutiny—Dacoity—Tours—Parasnath—Tea—*Charak* Puja—The Sonthal *Parganas*—Bhutan—Chittagong Hill Tribes—Kukis—Garos—Khasia rebellions—Native States—Board—Indigo Disturbances—The Indigo Commission—Their Report—Subsequent Occurrences and Action of Government—The “*Nil-Darpan*” Case—Further Official Action—Primary

Education—The Indian Penal Code—Extension of system of Sub-divisions—Bible-reading Classes in Government Schools—Sikhim—The Volunteer Movement—The Order of the Star of India—Religious Endowments Act, XX. of 1863—Excise Policy—Honorary Magistrates—Calcutta Municipal Arrangements—Cinchona—The Indian Councils Act 1861—The Bengal Legislative Council—Police Reform—Death of Lady Canning—Method of work and correspondence—a Native Journal on Sir J. P. Grant's retirement—Libel case—Jamaica. ... Page 163

APPENDIX.

Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor on the Report of the Indigo Commission. ... Page 238

CHAPTER III.

SIR CECIL BEADON, K.C.S.I.

1862—67.

Previous Appointments—Brief Sketch of Lieutenant-Governorship—Welcomed by a native Journal—Subordinate Judicial Service—High Court established—Calcutta Municipality—Insanitary State of the Town—Police—The Waste Lands Policy and the Rules of 1862—Labour Emigration—Abandonment of Salt Manufacture by Government—Khasia rebels—Frontier Tribes—Vernacular Education—Railways—The Fever Epidemic—*Mufassal* Municipalities—The native Press—The Bengal Library—Agricultural Exhibition—The floating Corpse and Burning *ghat* Nuisances—Cyclone of 5th October 1864—Bhutan—Suppression of hook-swinging and barbarous practices—Forests—Sub-divisions—Central Jails—Canals—Calcutta Water supply—Union of Offices of Chairman of the Justices and Commissioner of Police—The Wahabi Conspiracy—Port Canning Scheme—Sundarbans Reclamation—Calcutta Wet Docks—Port Trust—The Jury System—Hindu Practices,—Moribunds,—Polygamy—Death of Bishop Cotton—Indigo Disputes in Tirhut—The Orissa and Bihar Famine—Bihar—The *Calcutta Review*...Page 272

CHAPTER IV.

SIR WILLIAM GREY, K.C.S.I.

1867—71.

Previous Appointments and brief Sketch of Career—Nomination to Council—and the Lieutenant-Governorship—Darjeeling Cantonment—Inundations—Tea Commission—Port of Calcutta—Cyclone of 1st/2nd

CONTENTS.

November 1867—Port Canning and the Sundarbans—Epidemic Fever—Employment of Natives—Subordinate Executive Service—Sanitary Commissioner appointed—Revision of Ministerial Establishments—Appointment of another Secretary to Government—Keonjhur Disturbances—Sir W. Grey's Views on Changes in the form of the Government of Bengal—The Shoe Question—*Mufassal* Municipalities—Indigo Difficulties in Bihar—the Wahabi Movement—Proposed Formation of a distinct Judicial Branch of the Civil Service—Hook-swinging—Education and Road-cess—Canals—Recovery of Arrears of Land Revenue—Gazetteer of Bengal—Earthquake of 10th January 1869—Frontier Raids—Chittagong Hill Tribes, Lushais—Opium Revenue—Reductions in the police—Preliminary Measures for the Census of 1871—Transfer of Rent suits to the Civil Courts—Visit of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh—Labour Transport to Assam—High English Education—Cattle-disease—Calcutta Water-supply and Drainage Works—Proposed Bridging of the Hooghly—The village Watch—Decentralisation of the Finances—Curious Theft case at Belvedere—*The Friend of India* on Sir W. Grey's Retirement—Subsequent Career. ... Page 398

CHAPTER V.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, M.P., K.C.S.I., D.C.L.

1871—74.

His Appointment contrary to precedent—Previous Career—Sonthal Agitation—Provincial Finance—The Road Cess—The Port Trust—The Calcutta-Howrah Bridge—Inundations of 1871—Murder of the Officiating Chief Justice Norman—The Lushai Expedition—The Burdwan Fever—Dengue Fever—Murder of the Viceroy, the Earl of Mayo—Some personal Experiences—The Census of 1872—Port Canning—Policy of governing more actively—Statistics—Economic Museum—The *Mufassal* Municipal Bill of 1872: vetoed—Primary Education—Higher Education—Educational Finance—Jails—Position of Magistrate-Collector; Subordination of the police—Subordinate Executive Establishment—Native Civil Service—Northern Bengal Railway—The Garo Expedition—The Dafas—Waste Lands—The Pabna Rent Disturbances—Concentration of Government Offices—Parallel Promotion—Experimental Farms—Illegal Exactions by *Zamindars*—Constitutional Changes contemplated—Reform of the Calcutta Municipality—Embankment and Drainage Act—Labour Emigration Act—Trade with Tibet through Sikkim—Formation of the Chief Commissionership of Assam—Miscellaneous—Bengal-Bihar famine of 1873-74—Retirement—Observations. ... Page 482

ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOLUME I.

| | |
|---|----------------|
| SIR FREDERICK JAMES HALLIDAY, K. C. B. | to face Page 1 |
| SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, K. C. B., G. C. M. G. | ... 163 |
| SIR CECIL BEADON, K. C. S. I. | ... 272 |
| SIR WILLIAM GREY, K. C. S. I. | ... 398 |
| SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, M. P., K. C. S. I., D. C. L. | ... 482 |

INTRODUCTION.

THE earlier history of the British power in Bengal does not fall within the scope of this work. But some account may be briefly given of the system of Government which obtained in Bengal previous to the creation of the Lieutenant-Governorship in 1853. The Governor-General of Bengal had, by the Statute 3 and 4 W. c. 85 (the Government of India Act, 1833), become Governor-General of India, and Governor of Bengal. By section 56 of that Statute the executive Government of Bengal was vested in a Governor-in-Council of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and three Councillors, (but under section 57 no Councillors were appointed in Bengal), and by section 69 the Governor-General-in-Council was authorised, as often as the exigencies of the public service might appear to him to require, to appoint one of the ordinary Members of the Council of India, as he might think fit, to be Deputy Governor, but with no additional salary. Since the passing of this Statute the following had been appointed Deputy Governors as occasion required :—

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Alexander Ross, Esq., Senior, | October 20, 1837 |
| Colonel William Morison, c. B., Madras Artillery. | October 15, 1838 |
| Thomas Campbell Robertson, Esq., | June 17, 1839 |
| Sir Thomas Herbert Maddock, Kt. c. B. | September 20, 1845. |
| Major-General Sir J. H. Littler, G. C. B. | October 11, 1848. |
| Hon'ble J. A. Dorin | March 12, 1849. |
| | December 9, 1853. |

In the Warrant* of Precedence, the Deputy Governor of Bengal came next after the Governor-General, and before the Governors of Madras and Bombay.

An Act of 1835 authorised the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and one was appointed in 1836. This necessarily reduced the area under the Government of Bengal, *i. e.* of Lower Bengal, to which this work refers.

* Lord Dalhousie's Minute of 28th September 1854.

In a Minute written in March 1867, Sir W. Grey, mentioned that "the complete separation (below the head of the Government) of the administration of Bengal from the general administration of India dates from 1843, in which year Lord Ellenborough assigned a separate Secretariat Establishment to the Bengal Administration by which the whole civil business, including public works, was to be transacted. The establishment which it was at that time thought right to assign to the work of the Bengal Government was one Secretary and two Under-Secretaries."

An outline of the system which practically obtained in 1845, and presumably still obtained in 1853 (as no material changes had been introduced meanwhile), is to be found in an article of January 1845, by the historian Mr. J. C. Marshman, c. s. 1., on **Bengal as it is.* "The Executive Government of Bengal," he wrote, "is administered by the Governor or Deputy Governor, aided by one Secretary and two Under-Secretaries. The duties annexed to it embrace the entire control of the Civil, Magisterial, and Police branches of the administration ; of the Land Revenues ; of the Salt and Opium monopolies ; of the *Abkari*, or Excise on spirits ; of the Ecclesiastical, Marine, and Steam Department, as well as that of Public Instruction and the Post Office. It is also charged with the management of the Ultra-Gangetic settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. With the Legislative, the Military, and Political Departments it has no connection ; they belong exclusively to the province of the general Government. The duties which are thus thrown on the Government of Bengal have been supposed to exceed those which devolve on the united Governments of Madras and Bombay, in which the responsibility of deliberation is shared by two distinct Councils, and the labour of action is distributed among several bureaux. In reference to the finances, however, the functions of the Bengal Government are strictly administrative. The funds collected through its instrumentality are at the entire disposal of the Government of India, and are expended according to the arrangements laid down by it ; and which can be modified only by its authority. The Governor of Bengal can make no alteration in the allowances of the public servants ; he cannot establish a new school, or augment the pay of a *daroga* to the extent of a rupee, without a vote of the Council of India. But

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. III. page 169.

in the internal management of the whole of the administration the Governor of Bengal is unfettered by the necessity of any reference to the Government of India. The vast patronage of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Service is at his absolute disposal ; and, in the exercise of discipline, any appeal from his decision lies to the Court of Directors and not to the Governor-General-in-Council. He is constrained, however, by the most stringent injunctions to forward every petition of appeal against his own proceedings to the home authorities."

Another account of the Government of Bengal previous to 1853 is to be found in Sir George Campbell's *Modern India* (1852), written 19 years before he himself became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It is not too long to quote. "Of late years, the Governor-General having been so much absent, there has generally been a Deputy-Governor of Bengal ; and latterly the duties of Governor-General and Governor of Bengal have been found to be too much for one man, and the Governor-General has even when present nominated a Deputy-Governor. He has most of the powers of Government (delegated to him by the Governor) except that, as the Governor-General is better acquainted with, and more frequently present in, Bengal than in the other Presidencies, he exercises a more minute supervision, and I believe that he retains in his own hands the patronage of appointments exceeding 1,000 rupees *per mensem*. Although the Governor-General may select the Deputy-Governor from the Members of Council, in practice it has become the custom to consider the appointment the right of the senior Member, and he has invariably been appointed. The consequence is a constant change in the holder of the office. In 12 years up to 1850 the reins had been held by 9 successive Governors or Deputy Governors. The present Deputy-Governor has served in the army with credit for 52 years, but has never had any experience of any kind in civil affairs ; and at this stage of his life, being suddenly promoted into the office of Deputy-Governor, he is called on to perform duties to the nature of which I have alluded, and to superintend the details which I shall afterwards describe.".....

"The Government of Bengal Proper must be the heaviest of all. The Governor has the administration of the great Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, with subsequent additions—Assam,

and the country known as the North-Eastern frontier Agency—another very large, thinly peopled, tract of hilly country, known as the South-Western Agency—Arracan and the Tenasserim Provinces on the east of the Bay of Bengal ; and he has the charge of a number of petty independent States. He has under him the opium manufacture, whether carried on in his own territory or in the Northwest Provinces ; the Bengal salt manufacture ; the whole of the very heavy local business in and about Calcutta, rendered very harassing from the presence of a large population of European adventurers, bound by no laws—and of the Supreme Court, ever ready to thwart him in every particular ; the marine and pilot establishments, and river flotilla, maintained by Government ; a number of educational establishments ; and many other miscellaneous charges.

“One circumstance has hitherto lightened his labour in the Revenue department, compared to the same department in other Presidencies, viz., the non-interference of Government in the permanently-settled estates, except to receive the land revenue and sell those in default ; but the system has worked so ill that there may be more trouble in store for the Governor of Bengal on the score of land revenue than where surveys and boundary marks and detailed settlements have been established from the beginning.

“All the duties above detailed have hitherto been left to a Governor-General, with the whole management of the empire on his shoulders, who takes them up for a few months at a time when he happens to be in Calcutta, or to an accidental senior Member of Council, civil or military, fit or unfit, continually changed, who receives nothing for his trouble, but is put to large expense. It is no wonder that such a Government is inefficient, that nothing has generally been done beyond mere routine, and that Bengal has suffered in consequence. The best man who could be selected, permanently appointed, and with no other duties, would have a hard task of it. As it is, the whole administration depends on a good Secretary and compliant Governor ; and even in this case there are many disadvantages in the exercise of power without responsibility and the establishment of a bureaucracy.”

Sir John Strachey* writes thus : “It had long been obvious that it was impossible for a single person to discharge the

* (*India*, Edition 1894.)

double duty of Governor-General of India and Governor of Bengal, and the administration of Bengal had notoriously become less efficient than that of any other Province in India": and again—"While the empire was being constantly extended, he could spend comparatively little time in Calcutta. When he was there, he was by law Governor, but it was impossible for him to attend personally to the details of Bengal administration. When he was absent from Calcutta, the senior Member of Council for the time being became Deputy-Governor. Thus there was a frequent change of rulers, and no man was long responsible for the good Government of the Province. At last, the contrast between the condition of Bengal and that of other parts of India became too obvious to be neglected." The idea of relieving the Governor-General of all details connected with the internal administration of Bengal had indeed been mooted so long ago as 1826 by Sir John Malcolm, * who saw that "there would be a further advantage in separating the duties of a Governor-General from those of the Local Government of Bengal, in its withdrawing his high name from those minor acts which must always agitate a community composed like that of Calcutta."

The creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal had its legal origin in the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853, and was the consequence of a special recommendation by the Governor-General, then the Earl of Dalhousie. A writer† of the day, referring to the Statute of 1853, describes the new arrangement as a boon, and adds: "This, one of the real wants of India, or at least of that part of it where agitators can shout the loudest, instead of being prominently put forward in the memorials of Associations and Committees, was inserted at the tail of a whole string of fancied wants, or nearly buried under a mountain of imaginary grievances. It might have passed unnoticed, or have been honored with the merited contempt assigned to so many other representations. It is known, however, that the Governor-General brought to the notice of leading men at home the paramount necessity that existed for making Bengal Proper a separate executive charge. A recom-

* *The Political History of India from 1784 to 1823.* Chapter X.

† *The Administration of Lord Dalhousie; Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXII, January 1854, by W. S. Seton-Karr (of the Bengal Civil Service, 1842-70).

mendation, coming from his clear and practised judgment, and expressed in his lucid convincing language, derived additional force from the fact that, if ever we had a Governor-General competent to the double task of presiding in the Supreme Council and wielding the executive power of the Government in the Lower Provinces, Lord Dalhousie was the man. But the best horse may be over-tasked, and every one is now fully persuaded that the best security for reform and progress in Bengal is to entrust it to the ablest civilian that can be found."

In his speech, on moving for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the Government of India (as the existing Statute was to expire on the 30th of April 1854) the Right Honorable Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, said in the House of Commons on June 3rd, 1853:—"The only alteration in the position of the Governor-General which we propose to make is this. It appears from the whole of the evidence, that, entrusted as he is both with the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, he has more duties to attend to than he can fairly discharge. We propose, therefore, to relieve him of the administration of the Province of Bengal. But we do not propose that any change should be made in the general control which he exercises over the whole of the Indian Government. ... The evidence is uniformly in favour of the establishment of a permanent Lieutenant-Governor in Bengal. The interests of the Presidency are stated in many cases to have suffered from the want of a permanent officer superintending the various matters connected with its administration and as it is desirable to relieve the Governor-General of the labour of this duty and will clearly be to the advantage of the district, we propose that power should be taken to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal."

When the Statute of 1853, i. e., 16 and 17 Vic., c. 95, s. 16 was passed by Parliament, to renew the East India Company's Charter, the Court of Directors was empowered (1) to declare that the Governor-General shall not be Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, but that a separate Governor shall be appointed for such Presidency, and (2) until a separate Governor of such Presidency should be constituted, "to authorise and direct the Governor-General of India in Council to appoint from time to time any servant of the said Company, who shall have been 10 years in their service in

India, to the office of Lieutenant-Governor of such part of the Territories under the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal as for the time being may not be under the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and to declare and limit the extent of the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor to be so appointed." The Governor-General's power of appointing a Deputy-Governor of Bengal ceased. The same Statute, s. 35, named the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor as 100,000 Company's Rupees. In communicating this Statute to the Governor-General, the Court of Directors in their despatch No. 61 of 12th October 1853 wrote:—"We have no intention at present of appointing a separate Governor for the Presidency of Bengal, but, under the latter provision of the clause which has been quoted, we authorize and direct you to appoint a servant of the Company, who shall have been 10 years in our service in India, to the office of Lieutenant-Governor, and to declare and limit the extent of his authority. The Lieutenant-Governor so appointed will be removable at any time, but it will probably be advisable that it should be understood that, in ordinary circumstances, he will hold the appointment for 5 years. The term of his Government, however, may be prolonged as has been done in the case of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, if it should be for the advantage of the Public Service."

In a Minute dated the 6th December 1853 Lord Dalhousie hailed with the utmost satisfaction the authority conveyed by this despatch. But he felt himself not in a condition to avail himself of the authority. He had not been aware of the intention to give immediate operation to s. 16 of the Statute, and he did not wish to leave several important Bengal subjects incomplete to his successor in the local administration: he therefore proposed to postpone making any appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor for some little time to come; though he would sincerely rejoice to "shift from the shoulders of the Governor-General some portion of a burden which, in present mass, is more than mortal man can fitly bear." He noticed that the Statute of 1853 had not extinguished the *Governor of Bengal*: and a legal question arose as to the powers of the Governor-General-in-Council, the Governor of Bengal, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. After another Minute, of the 16th of February 1854, from Lord Dalhousie, the

Government of India on the 24th idem asked the Court of Directors "whether the proper superior authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will be the Governor-General-in-Council?"

In accordance with the despatch of the 12th October 1853 and on a Minute of Lord Dalhousie's of the 20th April 1854, the Government of India issued a Resolution on the 28th of April 1854, on the subject of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. It stated that an official residence had been provided for the Lieutenant-Governor and that he would be allowed Rs. 600/-p.m. for establishment. The territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor was to be co-extensive with that previously exercised by the Governor of Bengal, with the exception of the Tenasserim Provinces, which (like Pegu), the Governor-General took under himself, Fort William remaining exclusively in the hands of the Governor-General. The extent of the Lieutenant-Governor's authority was to correspond in all respects with that which had been exercised by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, subject to such changes as the Governor-General or the Governor of Bengal, acting within his jurisdiction, might think fit to make. It was laid down that the Lieutenant-Governor should correspond with the Government of India, and send reports of his proceedings to the Court of Directors direct, (as the Government of Bengal had done previously), until otherwise ordered. The salaries of the Secretary and 2 Under-Secretaries to the Government of Bengal were to continue to be Rs. 36,000 and Rs. 15,000 each *per annum* respectively. These arrangements were confirmed by the Court of Directors.

In due course another Statute 17 and 18 V. c. 77, was passed on the 7th August 1854, to empower the Governor-General by section 3 to except the Tenasserim Provinces from the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; by section 4, with the sanction and approbation of the Court of Directors, to declare and limit the extent of the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor, and, by section 5, to exercise all the powers which had not been transferred to the Lieutenant-Governor: and the Governor-General of India was no longer to be the Governor of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal. Accordingly by a Resolution dated the 26th January 1855 the Government of India declared that the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor extended to all matters relating to civil adminis-

tration previously under the authority of the Governor of Bengal, and that the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor was co-extensive with the jurisdiction exercised by the Governor of Bengal on the previous 28th April, with the exception of the Tenasserim Provinces and Fort William. The Lieutenant-Governor was directed to record his proceedings in the form of narratives to be submitted to the Government of India, for the latter to transmit to the Court of Directors. A Proclamation was issued, taking the Tenasserim Provinces under the immediate authority of the Governor-General. On the 28th September 1854 Lord Dalhousie raised the question of the rank and precedence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, as the latter then had strictly speaking no special rank at all. He wrote:—"The Deputy Governor of Bengal, under Her Majesty's warrant, took place next to the Governor-General and before the Governors of Madras and Bombay. But the office of the *Deputy* Governor of Bengal was of much greater extent and dignity than the newly created office of *Lieutenant*-Governor of Bengal. The Deputy Governor was a *locum tenens* for the Governor of Bengal; and while he existed his jurisdiction was in theory co-extensive with the Presidency of Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor, on the other hand, has jurisdiction only over that part of the Presidency of Bengal which includes the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It may seem therefore right to the Hon'ble Court that the Lieutenant-Governor should not rank as the Deputy Governor formerly did, but should take precedence next after the Governor of Bombay. Regarding the question from a different point of view, the Hon'ble Court may think that, having regard to the great importance of the Local Government which he administers, the Lieutenant-Governor should enjoy the precedence which formerly belonged to the Deputy Governor. It will be for the Hon'ble Court to suggest, and Her Majesty's gracious pleasure will decide this point." The Lieutenant-Governor has precedence after the Governors of Madras and Bombay and the President of the Governor-General's Council, and, when in his own territories, before the Commander-in-Chief in India.

In the last despatch, (dated the 28th April 1854) which he issued as Governor of Bengal, Lord Dalhousie wrote to the Government of India as follows:—

‘ During 3 of the 6 years, (i. e. since the 12th of January 1848) that His Lordship has held the Government of India the local administration of the Government of Bengal has also been in his hands. In these years some of the imperfections which time had exposed in the frame of the local administration have been amended. Parliament has lately supplied a remedy for that great deficiency the effects of which pervaded the entire system and were felt in every department of the administration—namely the want of a Lieutenant-Governor, who should be able to devote the whole of his time and capacity to these Lower Provinces alone. There still remain a few conspicuous wants and errors, which His Lordship’s experience in this Government has convinced him ought to be supplied and amended ; and on which he wishes to submit recommendations to the Government of India before he lays his local authority down.’ These errors he stated to be (1) the separation of the offices of Collector and Magistrate, contrary to the system which formerly prevailed throughout the Presidency, and to that which still prevailed in the North-Western Provinces, (2) the perpetual change of Civil Officers from one district to another and from one branch of administration to another, and (3) the great deficiency of gradual training, more especially for judicial functions. Some of these matters came under consideration soon afterwards. In his final Minute, dated the 28th of February 1856, Lord Dalhousie wrote of this change, after it had been in force nearly 2 years, as follows : “When the Statute of 1833 expired, material and important changes were made by the House of Parliament upon the frame of the administration itself.....Until that time the Local Government of Bengal had been placed in the hands of the Governor-General of India. But in the year 1853 the system, by which the officer charged with the responsibility of controlling the Government of all India was further burdened with local duties of vast extent and importance, was happily abandoned. The Governor-General was finally liberated from the obligation of performing an impossible task, and a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed to the charge of Bengal alone. The importance of this measure cannot be over-rated.”

The contemporaneous writer, who has been previously quoted, has given an account of the main administrative events in Bengal during the period immediately preceding the creation of the

Lieutenant-Governorship. The years 1850 and 1851 were spent by the Governor-General partly in the hills and partly in the plains, and during his absence the Government of Bengal was administered by the President of the Council for the time being, all matters of importance, and all nominations to the high prizes of the Civil Service, being referred to Simla or Mahasoo for orders. Though each Presidency stood theoretically in the same relation to the Government of India, Bengal was one of the divisions of the Empire in which Lord Dalhousie's influence was most felt. Mr. Seton-Karr wrote thus of Bengal in 1854: 'It is the focus of civilization: the commercial capital of the country: it has been the residence of the Governor-General for the last two years: it represents one-half of India in the eyes of the untravelled at home: it is here that we have the most influential bar, and the largest mercantile community: here the spread of education is the most acknowledged, and the effects of missionary operations are most visibly seen. Moreover, Calcutta, or rather Bengal, conceives itself to have a right to the presence of the Governor-General, at least for such time as he is also the Governor of this large and fertile kingdom. When, then, the administration of the Lower Provinces was left for the whole interval, between October 1848 and February 1852, in the hands, first, of Sir H. Maddock, and next, of Sir J. H. Littler, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the fourth estate and by the community generally, and it was even asserted, that matters, instead of progressing, were actually going backward. For the time that Sir H. Maddock held the reins, from 1848 to March 1849, these murmurs did not make themselves very loudly heard. Sir H. Maddock had had very considerable experience in civil business, and had been Deputy-Governor under Lord Hardinge. But when the administration was presided over by a soldier, who was not unjustly supposed to know more about platoon firing and advancing in echelon than about the Excise Code and the Decennial Settlement, the Government of Bengal was assailed by considerable obloquy, though the old soldier commanded respect by his kind manner and straight-forward dealing, and though his responsible adviser was, in talent, integrity and uprightness, amongst the very foremost of the whole Civil Service. There is no doubt, however, that it is anomalous and unjust to hand over the Govern-

ment of such a Presidency as Bengal to a man who has many other duties to employ him—to a man who may be somewhat worn out, who may be inexperienced, who, though a good councillor, may not be the fittest man for such a post. There is more work to be done under the Bengal Government than under any other Government in India. The land-revenue, though assessed in perpetuity, is constantly giving rise to new, intricate and perplexing questions. The manufacture and sale of opium create a responsibility, of which the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra knows nothing. The salt, the excise, and the sea customs, themselves, form no contemptible addition to the work. The police is a heavy burden, where the population expect to be protected, and will not stir a finger to help themselves. The Marine Department, as at Bombay, requires a great deal of attention and would be a hard task for any Civil Governor, were it not for the admirable manner in which ships and men are disciplined and kept in order by the Superintendent of Marine. The whole of the judicial branch demands constant attention in a country where there is valuable property to be contended for, and acute intellects that make litigation a trade. Education is making grander and more rapid strides in Bengal than in any other part of India, without a single exception, and the schools and colleges under the Council of Education are more than double those of any other Presidency. The non-regulation Provinces of Assam, Arracan, Tenasserim, and the Southwest Frontier Agency, together with the Tributary *Mahals*, would, if geographically compact, form an area equal to that of a separate kingdom. Finally, Calcutta alone must occupy a large portion of any Governor's time and attention. It is unjust to blame those entrusted with the administration of Bengal for not having advanced its moral and material prosperity in the same ratio as that of Agra had been advanced. Great questions require undivided energies and uninterrupted leisure. A Governor of Bengal should be a person of "large discourse, looking before and after." He must be wholly unfettered by other duties, be a man of large experience and unquestionable ability, if he is to grapple with the question of improving the village watch, if he is to reform the police, to lay down roads, to simplify procedure, to establish Courts of Small Causes, to visit the different districts at intervals in the year. We think ourselves fortunate to have secured in Mr. Halliday a person equal to this task.

If the routine and current work has been carefully and well got through under the old system, if cases have not been slurred over, nor practical difficulties eluded, no blunders committed, we ought perhaps not to expect much more. But we shall hope to show that, while all this has been done, the forward movement, as it is termed, the great cause of reform, has not been wholly forgotten. We proceed then to state what was done for the Lower Division of the Presidency, during the absence of Lord Dalhousie. In 1849, we had the Commission on the police of Calcutta, which terminated in a very satisfactory reform of that department. The merit of this is due entirely to the Governor-General. In the same year, the Bengal Government took possession of the small state of Sambalpur, lying on the Bombay road, in the South-West Frontier Agency. This little chiefship lapsed from failure of heirs, its last Raja having, in his lifetime, expressed a desire of seeing the administration made over to the British Government. The amount paid by this State as tribute, previous to 1849, was only 8,800 rupees. The amount now taken in the shape of direct revenue is 74,000 rupees, of which only 25,000 rupees are expended in the cost of collection and in the payment of establishments, including an European officer. The country, naturally rich and productive, but unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, was admirably ruled by the late Dr. Cadenhead. Not the slightest symptom of discontent has appeared, and one of the Members of the Board of Revenue was to visit it this last cold season. But greater changes, with regard to some of the non-regulation Provinces have been carried out. It was found that Arracan and the Tenasserim Provinces, as to revenue matters, were under the Revenue Board, and that Assam and the South West Frontier Agency were not. Arracan, under the management of Capt. Phayre, was giving in nearly 7 *lakhs* of net revenue, while its grain was exported to all parts of the world. Sixteen *lakhs* worth of rice are exported yearly from the port of Akyab. The Province is remarkably free from crime, the population are contented ; a great stream of emigration is flowing yearly from Chittagong southward, the Bengali is pushing the native Arracanese aside. The Tenasserim Provinces under the successive administrations of Major Broadfoot, Captain Durand, and Mr. Colvin had been generally recovering from the distress and confusion into which they had been thrown by ill-

advised measures, some 10 years previous to the time of which we are writing. But of Assam little was known, and the same might be said of the district of Hazaribagh and Chota Nagpur, though much nearer in position to the seat of Government. Both these Provinces were put under the Board of Revenue, and the good effects of this measure have been already made apparent in a better and more effective system of management. The mention of the Board of Revenue naturally leads us to record a change in the composition of the Board itself. For the first year after Lord Dalhousie's departure for the Upper Provinces, the 2 Members of this body were very much opposed to each other in opinion. They differed not as men often differ in India, from mere captiousness or unwillingness to yield points—but from honest conviction and after protracted inquiry. The result however of their antagonism, which never prejudiced the interests of either the Government or the landholders, was that an immense deal of additional work was thrown on the office of the Bengal Secretary. Several very knotty points of revenue law were referred to that office, and there set at rest. But it is obvious that an Executive Government should have something to do besides giving rules as to the party with whom lands in the Sundarbans should be settled, or as to the precise meaning of some clause in Mr. Holt Mackenzie's famous Revenue Regulation of 1822. Accordingly when one Member of the old Board of Customs had retired, and another had been removed from office, it was found convenient to send the third and remaining Member to the Board of Revenue. The advantages of this measure were, first, the saving of expense by the abolition of 2 appointments worth 52,000 rupees a year; secondly, the addition to the Board of Land Revenue of a third Member, who had long been its Secretary and was well versed in revenue law; and, finally, the union of all the great sources of revenue under one well-selected body, the Members of which were enabled to divide all current work amongst themselves, and to discuss all questions of importance in a full conclave. Indeed, it cannot be denied that the working of the revenue system in the Lower Provinces has, within the last 4 years, been greatly ameliorated. All the operations in the Chittagong Division, which rendered the presence there of an officer with extraordinary powers indispensable, having been wound up by Mr.

Ricketts, this gentleman was succeeded by an officer with the ordinary pay and powers of a Commissioner. Collectors everywhere were instructed to move about their districts in the cold weather, to examine the condition of *khās mahals* or Government estates, and to follow the example of Magistrates in exchanging stone walls for canvas ones. A great deal has been done towards the arrangement of the records in various Collectorates, and order and regularity have been introduced amongst a mass of confused or moth-eaten papers. The survey has engaged much attention; it has been manned by officers of ability, and has been pushed forward with the laudable desire of demarcating the boundaries of villages and estates, and of saving a very considerable expense in establishments. It is hardly possible, and it would certainly not be desirable, that the survey in the Lower Provinces should mark off every field, or designate every holding. The advantages derivable thence would not be commensurate with the vast expense and the fearful delay of such a measure. All that the survey professes to do is to record the boundaries of estates and villages, the natural features of the country, the area, and the extent of cultivation, the products of particular districts, the extent of the pressure of the Government revenue on each acre—and other statistical information which the surveyors may pick up in the course of their work. All this will be available in a few years' time for every district in the Lower Provinces. With regard to the vigorous enforcement of law and abatement of crime, much has not been done.* We have, however, a Commissioner of Dacoity, who is doing his best; and we have seen a vigorous and effective police established on the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the Karamnassa. The lower division of the line, it should be remembered, is the very opposite in features to the upper part under the Government of Agra. From Benares upwards, the road passes through some of the richest and most populous districts of the Doab. After leaving Burdwan, the Grand Trunk Road merely skirts the edge of the districts of Birbhum, Bhagalpur and Gaya, and does not go within 50 miles of a single station. The line selected lies, in fact,

* The office of Superintendent of Police was abolished on the 25th January 1854 and the powers exercised by him were vested in the Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit.

through a hilly, wooded, and thinly populated country, which, though fertile in materials for the construction of roads, is equally so, in places where unsuspecting travellers might be robbed and murdered by scores. An effectual protection to life and property has been afforded throughout the line. At every 2 or 4 miles there are stations, the police of which regularly protect the road from sunset till dawn. At certain parts there are *sawârs* and at every 50 or 80 miles there is a Deputy Magistrate. The whole force on the line is numerically about equal to a regiment of infantry, and it is as safe to travel along this line as it is to go from Calcutta to Barasat, or Krishnagar. Besides the above reforms, the Bengal Government has commenced the very proper practice of publishing selections from its records, and the numbers, which already amount to more than a dozen, contain abundant information on the opium manufacture, on teak forests, on several wild districts and their occupants, on the Electric Telegraph, on embankments, on the sanitary condition of Calcutta, and on other subjects. No doubt, when we have a regular Lieutenant-Governor, things will move at a quicker rate, and we may think little of reforms such as those just enumerated. But when we consider that current business alone is greater in Bengal than elsewhere, that the Executive, during the period of which we are writing, was burdened with some personal cases, relative to the conduct of civilians and other officers, of a very serious and complicated character, it will be allowed that the Bengal Government has done, and done well, all that in common justice could be expected of it. Neither must we forget that its care has been to put, into the highest court of criminal and civil justice, the very best officers that could be selected, and the Calcutta Sudder for 4 years was presided over by judges, who, for energy and acuteness, long acquaintance with native character, with the procedure of the courts, and with the Company's law, were not approached by those of any of the Courts at the other Presidencies. The contrast presented by the decisions of the Calcutta Court, with Mr. J. R. Colvin at its head, and by those of the Sudder at Agra, since it has been bereft of the judicial acumen of Messrs. H. Lushington and Deane, is something almost painful to contemplate. The files of the Calcutta Court have been reduced to the lowest possible amount; the confidence of suitors and pleaders in its decisions has been increased by the new

rules under which civil cases are argued before a full Bench : the results of criminal trials appealed, or referred to the Court are widely made known, with the Minutes of the several judges ; and the good effects of a strict supervision by officers, whose talents and character command respect, are visible in the additional care with which Magistrates prepare, and Judges in the districts dispose of the calendars." It was about this time also that the half yearly examinations, by 2 standards of qualification, of young civilians after they had passed the College of Fort William, were introduced. (The College itself was abolished and the Board of Examiners established on the 24th January 1854). It was recorded that these examinations were found to have been really needed and that they answered remarkably well. "Something of this kind was wanted to take up the college course where it terminated, and to add to book-learning the power of talking fluently with *bunneas* and *raiyats*." Subsequent to February 1852, the Government of Bengal was again administered by Lord Dalhousie himself, aided by Mr. (Sir) Cecil Beadon, (whose merits had deservedly gained him a high and important position at a comparatively early period of service). Mr. Seton-Karr briefly summarised the administrative events of this period. "The measures by which these 2 years have been distinguished are, an important alteration in the law relating to the sale of estates for arrears of revenue, the promulgation of a new set of rules for the grant of waste lands in the Sundarbans, which may, it is hoped, have the effect of inducing capitalists to lay out money in clearance and cultivation, the giving effect to the Mitford bequest to the city of Dacca, in accordance with the decree of the Court of Chancery : and the extension of English education by the establishment of a new College at Murshidabad, and an English school at the principal station of every district where the inhabitants may be ready for such a course of instruction. Lord Dalhousie himself has also visited Arracan and Chittagong, and has sent grave Sudder Judges and Members of the Board of Revenue to report on unknown and unexplored districts and to suggest measures for their improvement. The only drawback to the benefit derivable from these tours appears to be that the deputation of 2 Judges of the highest Court of appeal tends to disorganize the machinery of justice. It is not always easy to supply the vacant places on the Bench ; not, if Judges

are to have roving commissions over huge Provinces, do we exactly see of what use is the office of Commissioner of Division. But when we have a regular Lieutenant-Governor, we shall expect that for him the steamer will be ready, the tent spread, or the dawk laid, and that a beneficial personal intercourse will be maintained between the chief, his subordinates, and the influential landholders, many of whom have never seen a live Governor."

THE
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF BENGAL.

1854-98.

1. SIR FREDERICK JAMES HALLIDAY, K. C. B. ... May 1, 1854.
2. SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, K. C. B., G. C. M. G. ... May 1, 1859.
3. SIR CECIL BEADON, K. C. S. I. ... April 23, 1862.
4. SIR WILLIAM GREY, K. C. S. I. ... April 23, 1867.
5. SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, M. P., K. C. S. I., D. C. L. March 1, 1871.
6. THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR RICHARD TEMPLE,
Bart., M. P., G. C. S. I., C. I. E., D. C. L.,
L. L. D., F. R. S. ... April 9, 1874.

7. THE HON'BLE SIR ASHLEY EDEN, K. C. S. I. officiating
Sir Steuart Colvin Bayley, K. C. S. I., C. I. E. January 8, 1877,
officiating ... confirmed
... May 1, 1877.

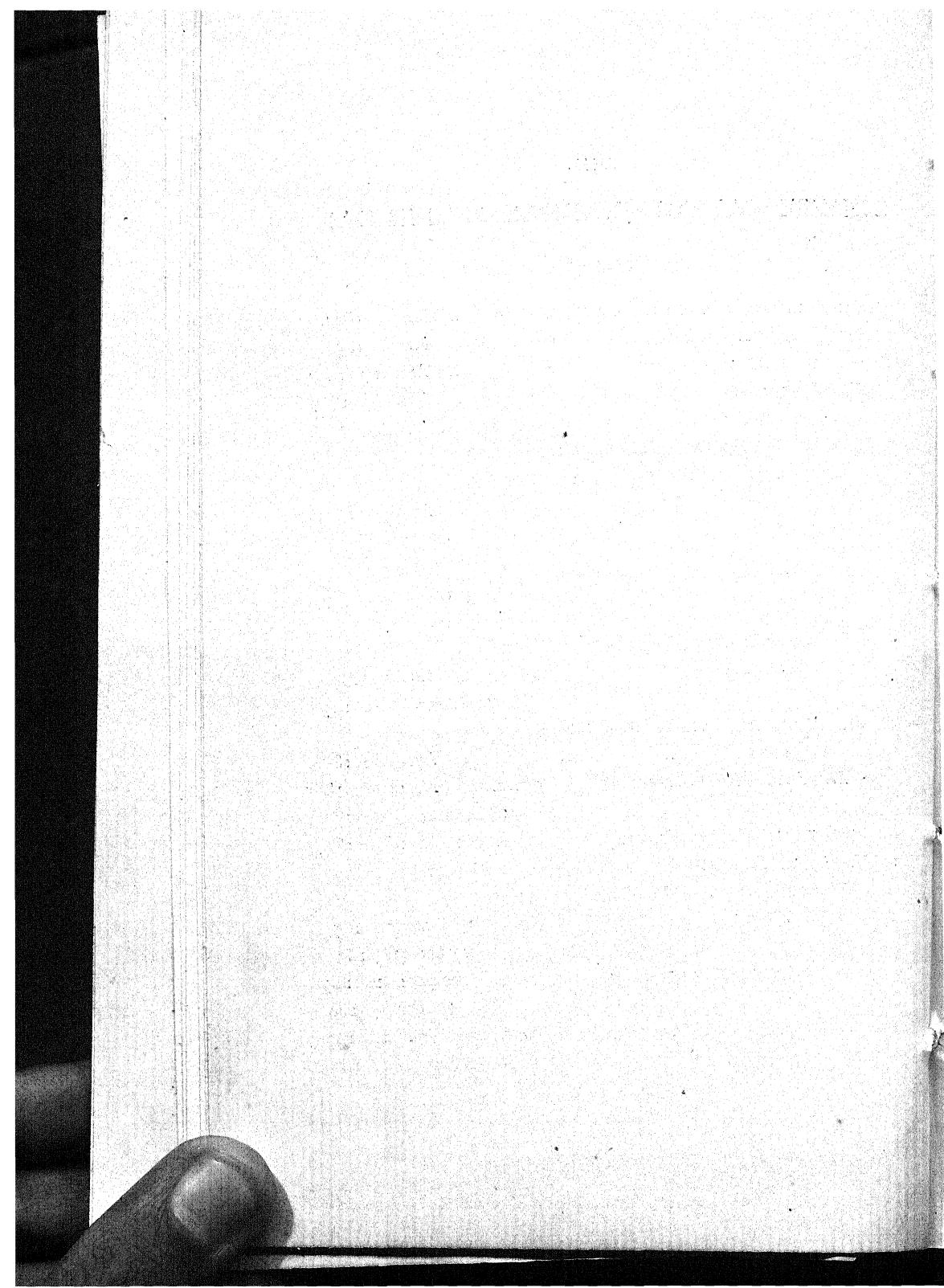
8. SIR AUGUSTUS RIVERS THOMPSON, K. C. S. I.,
C. I. E. ... April 24, 1882.

Mr. Horace Abel Cockerell, C. S. I., officiating August 11, 1885
to September 17, 1885.

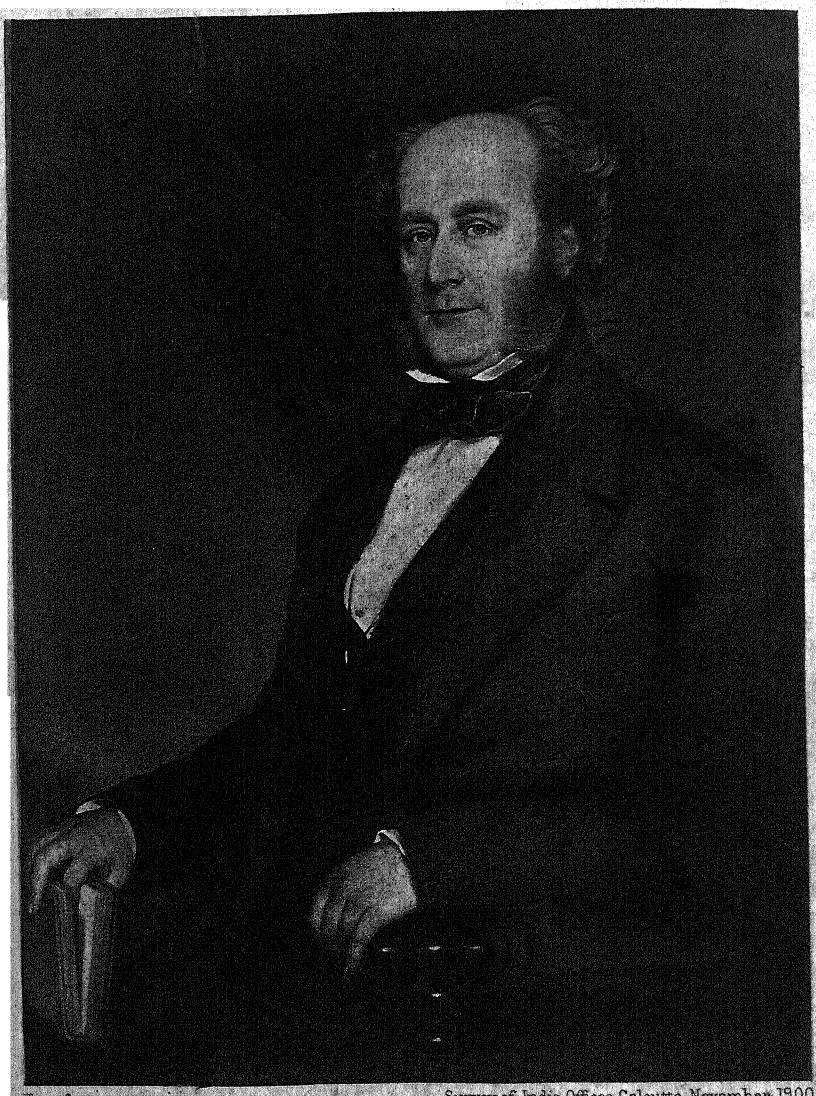
9. SIR STEUART COLVIN BAYLEY, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., April 2, 1887.
10. SIR CHARLES ALFRED ELLIOTT, K. C. S. I. ... December 17, 1890.
Sir Antony Patrick MacDonnell, G. C. S. I.

officiating ... May 30, 1873
to November 30, 1893.

- II. SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, K. C. S. I. ... December 18, 1895
to April 7, 1898.
Sir Charles Cecil Stevens, K. C. S. I., officiating June 22, 1897
to December 21, 1897.







Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, November 1900.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES HALLIDAY, K.C.B.

BENGAL UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS.

CHAPTER I.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES HALLIDAY, K. C. B.

1854—59.

At the commencement of each Chapter I propose to state briefly some of the principal facts concerning each Lieutenant-Governor—such as, his family, education, appointments—antecedent to his tenure of office: such details are of some interest and show, at any rate, the preparation he had received for the arduous duties of the Lieutenant-Governorship.

Frederick James Halliday, son of Thomas Halliday, Esquire, of Ewell, Surrey, was born on Christmas Day 1806, and educated at

St. Paul's School, Rugby, and the East India

Early career.

College, Haileybury. He was appointed to the

Bengal Civil Service in 1824: arrived in India 8th June 1825: served in Bengal as Assistant to the Registrar of the *Sadar* Court, 1826: Registrar and Assistant Magistrate of Birbhum, 1829: Judge and Magistrate of Hooghly, 1829: Magistrate-Collector of Rajshahi, 1830: Magistrate-Collector of Northern Bundelcund, 1832: Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Noakhali and Bullooa, 1833.

During these early years of his service, he was gazetted “on paper” to various other appointments of which he did not take charge. He became Secretary to the *Sadar* Board of Revenue in April 1836: Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial and Revenue Departments, May 1838: Junior Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Departments, in addition to his

other duties, March 1840, and Officiating Secretary in March 1842 : Secretary to the Government of India, in the Home Department, 1849 : Member of the Governor-General's Council, December 1853.

He was absent on furlough to England from July 1852 to November 1853, and in May and June of 1853 was, on sixteen occasions, examined before the Committees of the Lords and Commons on Indian subjects in connection with the renewal of the Company's Charter. While on furlough he was nominated by the Court of Directors to be a Member of Council and held that office at the time of the creation of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. But, even if he had not been Member of Council, it had always been the intention of the Governor-General, the Earl of Dalhousie, to nominate him for the new office of Lieutenant-Governor.

Lieutenant-Governor—a resolution formed before the office was created. On the 21st March 1854, Lord Dalhousie wrote :—“The fittest man in the service of the Hon'ble Company to hold this great and most important office is, in my opinion, our colleague, the Hon'ble F. J. Halliday. I have the highest satisfaction, both personally and officially, in proposing that on the 30th April, or immediately before that day, Mr. Halliday should be appointed to the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal ;” and he was so appointed accordingly by a Notification of the 28th April 1854. The Government of Bengal had, since February 1852, been administered by Lord Dalhousie himself, aided by Sir Cecil Beadon as Secretary. In the Introduction reference has been made to the part taken by the Governor-General in inducing Parliament to give power by law for the appointment of a separate Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It was one of the many large reforms which emanated from that vigorous mind and strong will. The time had come for a new departure and Lord Dalhousie was the man to take it. The selection of Sir F. Halliday for the new appointment was thus shadowed forth in Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr's article* on *The Administration of Lord Dalhousie* :—“We believe that no Governor-General has ever worked harder than Lord Dalhousie, and that no man is more sensible of the paramount necessity of entrusting the Government of Bengal to the undivided

* *Calcutta Review*, January 1854.

time and the entire energies of the ablest civilian that can be found for the post. All considerations of reduced patronage and diminished weight and influence, even if correctly stated, ought to give way to the public interests. A Governor-General comes out here to superintend and direct the affairs of each Presidency, to master all the political and external relations of India, to set the financial system on a secure basis, and to see that the legislative, social and commercial policy of the Empire be directed by adequate means, and on approved principles, towards one and the same end. It is not his business, overwhelmed as he is with references on every point, from the building of a barrack at Peshawar to the repairs of a gun-boat at Rangoon, to grapple with the intricacies of land tenures, to promote vernacular education, to infuse spirit into the police of Bengal, to enquire by whom village-watchmen shall be nominated and paid. Let the Governor-General but choose a man in whom he can place implicit reliance, whose talents and character will command the respect of the services, and of the native and European population—and we will answer for it that no measure will be undertaken and carried out, in which the head of the Empire shall not be furnished with ample previous information. We have good reason to believe that the creation of a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal is due much more to the candour and foresight of the present Governor-General than to the lugubrious declamation of Anglo-Saxon and Hindu reformers, who made a great stir about evils which no Act of Parliament could remedy, and said very little about the one measure which it was in the power of the Houses to pass. If report is to be believed Lord Dalhousie will make over the kingdom of Bengal to Mr. Halliday: an act which the services and the community will think fully justified by that gentleman's long experience, intimate knowledge of the country, renewed energies, acknowledged service and honourable name." Sir F. Halliday's appointment was thus regarded in 1854 by another Calcutta Reviewer: "The creation of this new and important office, and the appointment to it of such an able and experienced civilian as Mr. Halliday, will necessarily excite in the public mind no ordinary expectation, as to the prosecution of continued improvements in the internal administration of Bengal :" and again a writer in the same Review in 1858 may be appropriately

quoted here:—"If there ever was a person who succeeded to office with signal advantages, it is the present holder of the high appointment of Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Halliday had served in the judicial and in the revenue line. He had been Secretary to the Board of Revenue and a *Registrar*, as the office is absurdly termed, of the *Sadar* Court. He was for eleven long years Secretary to the Government of Bengal. As Secretary to the Government of India, he had enjoyed the confidence of one of the wisest and most vigorous statesmen that ever swayed, by his personal character, the destinies of a great kingdom. He had given evidence in the year 1853, which had left a vivid remembrance on the minds of able statesmen of both Houses of Parliament, and had at home, no doubt, imbibed all those influences which freshen and invigorate the dried-up currents of thought, and the seared sympathies of men who have long worked in the East. He came to his task, therefore, with an amazing amount of knowledge as to the evils, and their proposed remedies, prevalent in every branch of the administration, from Patna down to Sandoway, from Debroghar in Assam to Chota Nagpur and Cuttack."

Sir F. Halliday assumed the office of Lieutenant-Governor on the 1st May 1854, and appointed Captain H. R. James, 32nd N. I., who was succeeded by Captain H. Raban, 36th N. I., as his Private Secretary. There was at that time no sign on the horizon of the terrible trials through which

Accession to office.

India was to pass, and of which Bengal had its share. But the Mutinies did not take place until Sir F. Halliday had been three years in office, and meanwhile there was abundance of work to employ him in the development of the newly-constituted Province. The records of those earlier days are more meagre and formal than would suffice for modern requirements: but even from them it is possible, without reproducing wearisome statistical information, to extract accounts of important schemes and events which retain their interest to the present day. It will be seen, indeed, that in some departments foundations were then laid which have not been disturbed since: on the other hand it will appear that ideas which then obtained have not always continued to hold the field.

The extent of the Provinces included within the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal was stated in the first* Bengal. Administration Report of the year 1855-56. The Provinces were divided into seven portions, namely:—

| | | | |
|---|--------|--------|-----------|
| Bihar, having an area of about | ... | 42,000 | Sq. miles |
| Bengal | ... do | 85,000 | „ |
| Orissa | ... do | 7,000 | „ |
| Orissa Tributary <i>Mahals</i> | ... | 15,500 | „ |
| Chota Nagpur and the Tributary States on the S. W. Frontier | ... | 62,000 | „ |
| Assam | ... | 27,500 | „ |
| Arracan | ... | 14,000 | „ |

Total area ... 2,53,000 Sq. miles

and the population was moderately estimated at forty millions. Arracan was soon transferred to the Chief Commissionership of Burma, of which it geographically formed a part. Assam continued to be attached to Bengal until the year 1874. So large an area of country, held by a foreign power, necessarily requires the presence of an adequate military force, even when the population in general is so peaceably disposed as that of Bengal. It is well-known that the

Military force. military force in the Bengal Presidency was much stronger in 1854 than it is at the present day. The "Disposition of the Bengal Army," as shown in the *Bengal Directory* for 1854, was in Lower Bengal, excluding Orissa and Assam, as follows. The Garrison of Fort William consisted of H. M. 98th Foot (in progress), 65th N. I. (in progress to Rangoon): a Detail of Fort Artillery: Detachments of Native Infantry: The Calcutta Native Militia at Alipore: the Governor-General's Body Guard at Ballygunge. The Brigadier General commanding the Presidency

*In his final Minute of 28th February 1856, Lord Dalhousie recorded that one of the last, and not the least important, of the recent measures of the Government of India had been a Resolution to require henceforth from the Government of every Presidency, from each Lieutenant-Governor, and from the Chief Officer of every Province, an Annual Report, narrating the incidents that may have occurred during the year within their several jurisdictions, and stating the progress that may have been made, and all of moment that may have been done, in each principal department of the Civil and Military Administration.

Division, at *Barrackpore*, had at that station the 33rd, 37th, 48th, 53rd, and 72nd, N. I. and the Regiment of Firozpur : at *Dum Dum*, there were—the first and fourth Co.'s 5th Battalion—Depot 5th Battalion En. Foot Artillery and Head Quarters and 1st, 2nd, and 4th Companies of the 9th Battalion Native Foot Artillery : at *Chinsura*, the 3rd En. Regiment—Depot for H. M.'s Troops : at *Berhampore*, a detail of Native Foot Artillery, Depot 2nd En. Bengal Fusiliers and 7th N. I. : at *Midnapore*, the Regiment of Loodiana : at *Chittagong*, a Detachment of 33rd Native Infantry : at *Jamalpur*, the 6th Native Infantry : at *Dacca*, a detail of Native Foot Artillery. The Brigadier General commanding the *Dinapore* Division had under him, at that station, the 2nd Co.'s 3rd Battalion Foot Artillery—H. M. 29th Foot—the 13th and 44th N. I. : at *Segowlie*, the 12th Irregular Cavalry : at *Bhagalpur*, the Hill Rangers : at *Monghyr*, *Titalya* &c., Detachments of the Hill Rangers : at *Darjeeling*, the convalescent Depot of Detachments of H. M. and H. C's Troops, and the *Sebundi* Sappers and Miners : at *Doranda*, the Ramghar Light Infantry Battalion, with two *Risalas* of Irregular Cavalry : (the R. I. Cavalry were serving in Burma) : at *Bankura*, *Chaibassa*, *Hazaribagh*, *Purulia* and *Sambalpur*, Detachments of the Ramghar Light Infantry Battalion. It is impossible not to be struck with the strength of the force, its wide distribution, and the preponderance of the native element. At the outbreak of the Mutiny, it has been stated*, “the great Province of Bengal was destitute of European troops. There were in the Province 2,400 European soldiers, as against a native force of more than 29,000. A single English Regiment was distributed between the fort in Calcutta and the neighbouring Cantonments. A traveller would have found no other European troops till he reached Dinapore, 380 miles away ; and the English regiment there stationed had enough to do in watching four native regiments and the neighbouring city of Patna.”

Nearly contemporaneous with the creation of the Lieutenant-Governorship was the fresh impetus given to Education Despatch. In Bengal, with the rest of India. On the 19th July 1854 issued the great Education Despatch No. 49, of the Court of Directors, which was prepared under the direction

**Earl Canning*, by Sir H. S. Cunningham, K. C. I. E.

of The Right Hon'ble Sir Charles Wood, *Bart*,—then President of the Board of Control,—and has been called the Charter of Education in India. Lord Dalhousie wrote of it that it contained a scheme of Education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Local or the Supreme Government could ever have ventured to suggest, and that “it left nothing to be desired, if indeed it did not authorise and direct that more should be done than is within our present grasp.” Under this Despatch the office of the Director of Public Instruction was constituted, and in January 1855 a commencement towards carrying out its provisions was made by the appointment of Mr. Gordon Young, of the Civil Service, as the first Director. The purport of this Despatch, which has been so momentous in its consequences to Bengal, was summarised in the report of the Education Commission of 1882 (Sir W. W. Hunter's) as follows:—

The Despatch of 1855 commends to the special attention of the Government of India the improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and vernacular, and prescribes as the means for the attainment of these objects: (1) the constitution of a separate Department of the administration for education; (2) the institution of Universities at the presidency towns; (3) the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools; (4) the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number, when necessary; (5) the establishment of new middle schools; (6) increased attention to vernacular schools, indigenous or other, for elementary education; and (7) the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid. The attention of Government is specially directed to the importance of placing the means of acquiring useful and practical knowledge within reach of the great mass of the people. The English language is to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches, and the vernacular in the lower. English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but it is not to be substituted for the vernacular languages of the country. The system of grants-in-aid is to be based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality. Aid is to be given (so far as the requirements of each particular district as compared with other districts and the funds at the disposal of Government may render it possible) to all schools

imparting a good secular education, provided they are under adequate local management, and are subject to Government inspection, and provided that fees, however small, are charged in them. Grants are to be for specific objects, and their amount and continuance are to depend on the periodical reports of Government Inspectors. No Government colleges or schools are to be founded where a sufficient number of institutions exist capable, with the aid of Government, of meeting the local demand for education ; but new schools and colleges are to be established and temporarily maintained where there is little or no prospect of adequate local effort being made to meet local requirements. The discontinuance of any general system of education entirely provided by Government is anticipated, with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid ; but the progress of education is not to be checked in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay. A comprehensive system of scholarships is to be instituted so as to connect lower schools with higher, and higher schools with colleges. Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government. The principal officials in every district are required to aid in the extension of education ; and, in making appointments to posts in the service of Government, a person who has received a good education is to be preferred to one who has not. Even in the lower situations, a man who can read and write is, if equally eligible in other respects, to be preferred to one who cannot." In July 1855, provisional rules were issued by Government for grants-in-aid of any school giving a good secular education, either through English or the vernacular, to males or females or both, under adequate local management. A University Committee and a certain number of Inspectors were soon appointed, though several months elapsed before the necessary rules were laid down, establishments sanctioned and other preliminaries arranged to enable the Department to set properly to work. This Committee was charged with the duty of framing a scheme for the establishment of Universities at the Presidency towns : it

University. The Presidency College was placed upon an improved footing, as sanctioned by the Court of Directors in September 1854, and made a model for imitation as far as possible by the *mufassal* colleges. The *zilla* English schools were then forty in number. Great difficulty was at once met in Bihar in inducing the inhabitants to comply with the conditions of the grants-in-aid rules as regards private contributions. Not only were indifference and unwillingness to make the smallest effort for self-improvement exhibited, but bigotry and suspicion, amounting sometimes to hostility, were encountered.

In connection with the subject of Education in Bengal it will be relevant to mention here a Minute of 1858 by Sir F. Halliday, on a

Minute on Education. letter dated the 28th April 1858 written by Lord

Ellenborough, as President of the Board of Control, to the Court of Directors, and on a memorandum by Sir G. Clerk on the state of education in India. Sir F. Halliday showed that their statements and inferences as to Bengal required considerable correction. "On the question of the connection between education and the rebellion our wisdom, no less than our duty, is to persevere in what we have begun and not to turn our backs upon Bihar, or any other parts of our territory, because there is difficulty or danger in the path of improvement. It is certain, however, that both the difficulty and the danger are exaggerated and look imposing only to those who keep at a distance from them and view them through the delusive mist of prejudice and misinformation. As to difficulty — the progress of Bengal, even within the memory of living witnesses, is a proof of the aptitude of the people, and of their plastic docility. And though it is not uncommon in these days to attribute the recent mutinies to our educational operations, and even to propose to draw back from them for fear of similar consequences in future, the error of this opinion is like that of a man who, after unwisely and incautiously exposing a barrel of gunpowder to all kinds of dangerous influences, and having by good luck, and in spite of bad management, long escaped without an accident, should at last, when the fatal and inevitable explosion takes place, blame neither the gunpowder, nor his own rashness and indiscretion, but rather lay the whole mischief to account of some one of many little sparks flying about, and talk of limiting the use of fire and candle in future to prevent similar occurrences.

"The people of Bihar doubted and disliked our plans of education, as all ignorant people doubt and dislike schemes for their improvement. But, if the army had not mutinied, the people would never have thought of rebelling in consequence of our schools, nor have they now thought of it. For the few of the people of Bihar who have joined the rebellious troops have done so, some because they were bound with those troops in the closest ties of relationship, and others because they were thieves and plunderers by taste and profession, and ready to take advantage of any moment of confusion. And, except in rare cases, no especial hostility has been shown towards educational buildings or persons, so that the work of the schoolmaster has gone on little if at all affected by the surrounding disturbances. The army mutinied because it was a mercenary army, ill-organized, mis-governed, spoilt, encouraged into the grossest exaggeration of its own supposed power and importance, unwatched, unguarded, unsuspected, and, in its material, ignorant, uneducated and superstitious beyond all other classes of our subjects. Of all men in India the Sepoys had known the least and felt the least of our zeal for education; which, whatever it had incited us to do elsewhere, had never led us to think of educating the soldier, or of raising him from his debased and semi-savage intellectual condition. It was an army more or less mutinous, always on the verge of revolt, and certain to have mutinied at one time or another as soon as provocation might combine with opportunity. It was vain to talk of this great, but always impending, always inevitable mutiny as if it had been caused by a few schools in Hindustan. The mutiny had many causes, of which schools were the most trifling and most inconsiderable; and it would have taken place sooner or later, though there had never been a child taught to cypher from one end of India to the other."

The connection between education and the mutiny was altogether of another kind. If it was not education that caused the mutiny, it was the mutiny that retarded education in India. An extract from a Despatch of the Court of Directors of the 22nd June 1858 is conclusive on this point: "We desire that you will bear in mind the great financial difficulties to which we are now exposed, and that you will not on any account sanction any increase of expenditure in any part of India in

connection with education without our authority previously obtained."

The Sonthal *Parganas*, which now form the Southern district of the Bhagalpur Division, were not always inhabited by the Sonthals. In the Census report of 1872, the total number of Sonthals was returned at 923,532, of whom 455,513, or nearly one-half were in that district. They were (according to Sir W. W. Hunter) an aboriginal Kolarian tribe, inhabiting a tract of country about 350 miles in length, extending from the Ganges at Bhagalpur to the Baitarni river in Orissa. They colonised parts of the Hazaribagh district and parts of Birbhum at a very remote period, and it was chiefly by migrations from these colonies that the modern Sonthalia was formed. They are said to have immigrated in considerable numbers about the middle of last century and cultivated all the valleys and lower slopes of the hills, so that the *paharias* (or hill-men) with no settled cultivation became confined to the hillsides. Their origin, characteristics, habits etc. have been fully described by Colonel Dalton† and other writers, and I need not dilate upon them here. The insurrection of the Sonthals in 1855 broke out suddenly. It was described by Lord Dalhousie in his final Minute of February 1856 as a local outbreak, "little looked for." But there had been signs of coming trouble. In the cold weather of 1854, the Sonthals were in a restless excited state: their grievances were being agitated among themselves. Their tract of the country called the Damin-i-koh, or skirts of the hills, comprised in 1832 within a defined boundary, was divided between the districts of Bhagalpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum. It was under the fiscal and general management of a Superintendent, Mr. Pontet, subordinate to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, and in criminal matters under the Magistrate of Bhagalpur. There was only one resident Magistrate at Deoghur. To the wild Sonthal, justice was far off and very difficult of access at the Bhagalpur Courts. Bengali grain-dealers had flocked to the Sonthal country for business purposes. It was no wonder that the ignorant and helpless Sonthals should fall easy victims to the unscrupulous *mahajan*. Once in the clutches of

* See the *Calcutta Review*, Vols. XXVI and XXXV.

† Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal.

the usurers, they became with their families their bondslaves. And this was occurring at the time when a railway line skirting the Sonthal country for 200 miles was under construction, and creating an immense demand for labour. The bondslaves, working to pay off debts which were never satisfied, felt the contrast between themselves and the free workers. Thus it was the grinding oppression of the Bengali *mahajans* on the semi-savage Sonthals that was the main cause of the outbreak. The latter had no sufficient protection against the crafty Bengali, and the machinery of the Civil Courts was employed only as an instrument to rivet the chains of servitude. Thus, it has been said, the Sonthals, starting with the desire to revenge themselves on the Hindu money-lenders who had taken advantage of their simplicity and improvidence, found themselves arrayed in arms against the British Government. The noted leaders of the rebellion, two brothers, Seedoo and Kanoo, lived with their less forward brothers, Chand and Bhairab, at a village Bhagnadihi, half a mile from Burhait, the capital of all the Sonthal towns and villages. There is reason to suppose that this village had been particularly oppressed. The two brothers were men of strong personal character, and brooded over the wrongs of their race. They claimed to have seen apparitions of their *Thakur*, and to have been favoured with scraps of paper, which were distributed through the country. They also sent forth a *sal*-tree branch to their brothers and others, as a sign to rouse the clans. On the 30th of June accordingly 10,000 Sonthals are supposed to have met at Bhagnadihi, and it was said, though it was not proved, that the assemblage, at Seedoo's direction, addressed Government and all subordinate authorities. The intentions of the movement were announced to be against the *mahajans*, *zamindars* and all rich Bengalis: not against Government. On the 7th July the *Daroga* of Thana Dighi, or Burio Bazar, went out with his escort to inquire about the assemblage: he was promptly despatched by Seedoo, nine persons were killed by the Sonthals and the rest of the Police party fled. The rebellion, thus commenced with bloodshed, spread rapidly with many frightful atrocities. The whole country rose. The insurgents were armed with bows and poisoned arrows, axes, swords and a few guns only. But with these weapons they carried all before them for a time

through the western districts. Villages were sacked and burnt, three European gentlemen and two English ladies were killed, factories were attacked: the course of the insurgents was marked throughout by scenes of inhuman and atrocious cruelties, ruthless murders, burnings, pillage and devastation: even railway works were destroyed. There were not at the time, it was said, 1200 troops within 80 miles of the rebels. The troops available were however rapidly mobilized from Dinapore and Calcutta to Raniganj and about the 25th July placed under Brigadier-General Lloyd. When information of the assemblage was received at Bhagalpur the Hill Rangers were called out and advanced to Colgong. In an encounter on the 16th July with the insurgents they lost their Sergeant-major, 25 men of the corps, and an indigo-planter. For a time the Sonthals held possession of the country from Colgong to Palsa on the Ganges, and nearly to Birbhum and Raniganj on the west. With reinforcements of European troops and Native Infantry, the Hill Rangers cleared the country round Bhagalpur about the end of August, drove the insurgents southwards and recovered large quantities of plunder and stores. The Birbhum side of the country was more disturbed and for a longer time. A force was sent to prevent the Sonthals from crossing the Damodar and the Grand Trunk Road, and to protect Birbhum. Several engagements with the insurgents took place; the troops met with partial reverses, but by the 17th of August quiet was restored to this part of the country, though the rebels under arms were still estimated to exceed 30,000.

The insurgents were also active on the Murshidabad border, on the north of the Damin-i-koh, and along the south bank of the Ganges from Colgong to Rajmahal. The latter place was saved by the resolution and energy of Mr. Vigors, a Railway Engineer, who fortified his residence. To the west of Rajmahal, the Sonthals ravaged the country in the face of troops, who remained inactive. On the Murshidabad border the first move was made by the Berhampore troops with Mr. Toogood, the Magistrate of Murshidabad, through Aurungabad and Doolian. They were too late to catch the rebels at Kadamsa (where the latter had been checked by the indigo planters) but came up with them at Moheshpur and inflicted a signal defeat: three of the brother leaders were wounded, but not mortally.

The troops reached Burhait on the 24th July, and again beat the rebels at Rogunathpur. Soon afterwards, Seedoo was given up to the Bhagalpur troops through treachery. Garrison posts were planted on the Murshidabad border, and no further violence was experienced in that quarter. The rainy season of the year was unsuited for active operations in pursuit of the rebels, who found refuge in the jungles. Sir F. Halliday had been desirous of proclaiming martial law in August, but the Government of India, under the influence of Sir Barnes Peacock and Sir J. P. Grant, had refused permission. A Proclamation issued by the local Government, inviting the rebels to surrender on terms, was rejected by them and in some places treated with contempt. Though the conduct of the military operations against the Sonthals had been placed entirely in the hands of the military authorities, still the Civil Law was the law of the disturbed country and the tactics of the military were to some extent subjected to Civil control: it has been said that the Military remained individually amenable to the Civil Officers for their acts. Misunderstandings constantly occurred. In September, the rebels resumed activity in parts of Birbhum and Bhagalpur: and it became apparent that Martial Law was necessary. This was accordingly proclaimed on the 10th November; and its effect was soon apparent. The Proclamation ran as follows:—

“Whereas certain persons of the tribe of Sonthals and others, inhabitants of the Rajmahal Hills, of the Damin-i-koh, and of certain *parganas* in the districts of Bhagalpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum and owing allegiance to the British Government, are, and for some time past have been, in open rebellion against the authority of the Government; and whereas, soon after the first out-break of the said rebellion, a Proclamation was issued offering a free pardon to all who should come in and submit within a period of 10 days, except ringleaders and persons convicted of murder, notwithstanding which act of clemency the great body of the rebels have not availed themselves of the offer of mercy thus held out, but continue in rebellion;—wherefore, it has become necessary for the speedy and effectual suppression of this rebellion that advantage should be taken of the season to commence systematic military operations against the rebels, for which purpose it is expedient that Martial Law should be declared, and that the functions of the ordinary

Criminal Courts of Judicature should be partially suspended in the said districts ; .

“ It is hereby proclaimed and notified, that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in the exercise of the authority given to him by Regulation X of 1804, and with the assent and concurrence of the President in Council, does hereby establish Martial Law in the following Districts, that is to say :—so much of the district of Bhagalpur as lies on the right bank of the river Ganges ; so much of the district of Murshidabad as lies on the right bank of the river Bhagirathi ; the district of Birbhum :—And that the said Lieutenant-Governor does also suspend the functions of the ordinary Criminal Courts of Judicature within the districts above described with respect to all persons, Sonthals and others, owing allegiance to the British Government, in consequence of their either having been born or being residents within its territories and under its protection, who after the date of this Proclamation and within the districts above described, shall be taken in arms in open hostility to the said Government, or shall be taken in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or shall be taken in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the State ;

And that the same Lieutenant-Governor does also hereby direct that all persons, Sonthals and others, owing allegiance to the British Government who, after the date of this Proclamation, shall be taken as aforesaid, shall be tried by Court Martial ; and it is hereby notified that any person convicted of any of the said crimes by the sentence of such Court will be liable, under Section 3, Regulation X of 1804, to the immediate punishment of death.”

The weather becoming more suitable for operations, a military force, organised in sufficient strength, swept through the country and speedily subjugated all those who had not been broken by the ravages of hunger and disease, from which the Sonthals had suffered grievously since the line of troops had been drawn round them. Many of them tried to quit the country by escape to the south but were not suffered to cross the Grand Trunk Road. On the 31st December the insurrection was officially declared to have been entirely suppressed. The thanks of Government were awarded to Major General Lloyd, c. b. and Brigadier General Bird, and the Field Force was broken up. General Lloyd had exercised great discretion, forbearance and humane consideration in his action towards the misguided people with whom he had to deal: a few ringleaders

were executed and, on the capture of Kanoo, quiet was restored to the country. A large number of Sonthal prisoners were tried and condemned ; and the further operation of Martial Law was suspended on the 3rd January 1856. A few fresh outrages thereupon occurred, but the Sonthals had lost heart and were badly in want of food : so the renewal of the insurrection soon died away. By the end of the cold weather, the rebels had formally submitted and resumed work. On the pacification of the country, inquiry was made into the grievances of the Sonthals, with a view to their redress. The investigation was well conducted by the Hon'ble Mr. (Sir A.) Eden, c. s., specially deputed for the purpose. The results were that a separate non-regulation district was formed of the Sonthal *Parganas* : a Deputy Commissioner was placed in charge, with four Assistants, all vested with Civil as well as Criminal jurisdiction, under the Commissioner of Bhagalpur as Commissioner of the Sonthal *Parganas*. Laws were passed, Acts XXXVII of 1855 and X of 1857, making the Sonthal country independent of the jurisdiction of the Regular Courts, by removing the district called Damin-i-koh and the other districts principally inhabited by that tribe from the operation of the general laws and regulations which were found to be unsuited to so uncivilised a race. Another Act XXXVIII was passed in December 1855, to be in force for three years and provide for the speedy trial and punishment of rebellion and other heinous crimes committed within the districts in which Martial Law was proclaimed.

On the 5th November 1855 the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, issued from Bangalore a Proclamation ordering a day of Public Thanksgiving for the fall of Sebastopol. It may well find a place here, as a brief State paper of great interest, applying to Bengal.

“ The Governor-General has the highest satisfaction in announcing to the army, and the people of India, the capture of the town of Sebastopol, with its forts, and arsenals, and munitions of war.

When during the past year the Russian forces invaded the dominions of His Highness the Sultan, the Sovereigns of England and France, in close alliance, despatched their fleets and armies to save him from the danger by which he was threatened.

From the day when war was declared, the Russian fleets sought

safety within their fortified ports ; and have never dared to meet the allied force upon the sea.

The defences of Bomarsund have been captured and destroyed. The great naval arsenal of Sweaborg has been bombarded—its magazines exploded—its stores of material and its buildings burned.

The coasts of Russia have everywhere been blockaded. Her commerce has been extinguished ; and her merchant navy no longer exists.

The Russian Army was speedily compelled to retire from the Turkish Provinces which it had invaded ; and the Russian Territories were invaded in their turn.

Since that time the allies have defeated the Russians in three great battles within the Crimea ;—have forced them to abandon their forts along the whole Circassian shore.—and have swept and ravaged all their coasts ; while at the same time they have been laying constant siege to the mighty fortress of Sebastopol.

This great siege, without a parallel in the annals of war, has now been crowned with triumphant success.

Garrisoned by a numerous army—stored with unbounded resources—and defended by our enemies with the utmost gallantry, determination and skill, Sebastopol has nevertheless been compelled to yield. The town, the dockyard, the arsenals, and forts have fallen into the hands of the allies. Four thousand pieces of artillery, and enormous quantities of warlike stores have been captured in the place. Lastly, the Russian navy in the Black Sea, which consisted of more than one hundred ships-of-war, carrying upwards of two thousand guns, has been utterly demolished ; and all its vessels have been burnt, sunk, or destroyed.

For the great and glorious victory which has thus been vouchsafed to their arms, the allied Sovereigns have already offered up their sacrifice of gratitude to Almighty God.

The Governor-General, desirous that their example should be followed throughout the British Dominions in the East, proposes that, on the second day of December, Public Thanksgiving should be offered to Almighty God for the signal and repeated successes which have been gained during the present war by Her Majesty's forces, and by those of Her allies, and especially for the capture of the town of Sebastopol.

The Governor-General directs that this Proclamation shall be read to all the troops, and promulgated throughout the country ; and that the glorious tidings which it conveys shall be welcomed by a royal salute in every station of the Indian army."

Attempts at Municipal legislation had been made in India by The *Chaukidari* or local Police Act. Act X of 1842 and Act XXVI of 1850. The former Act never really came into operation and was repealed in 1850 as having proved ineffectual, and the latter Act, which was of a permissive character, had, though largely applied in the N. W. Provinces and Bombay, remained almost a dead letter in the rest of India. But the *Chaukidari*, or local Police Act of 1856 was brought into operation chiefly in Bengal and the N. W. Provinces. Its main object was to provide for the watch and ward of the places to which it was extended. No previous application from the inhabitants was necessary, and all authority was really vested in the Magistrate. A *panchayat*, or Committee, was nominated by him of at least five members, whose duty it was to assess upon the inhabitants the rates to be paid to meet the demand on the place, but their proceedings were subject to revision by the Magistrate. He also appointed the *chaukidars*, fixed their rates of pay and determined what additional sums were required for the collecting and other establishments, etc. Any further sum available after defraying the expenses of the *chaukidars* might be devoted to cleansing, lighting or otherwise improving the town. The tax to be levied under the Act might be either an assessment according to the circumstances and property to be protected of the persons liable to pay it, or a rate on houses and ground according to the annual value thereof. Government was to determine which form the tax should take: and maximum payments were fixed at low rates. Before its repeal this Act was in force only in small towns, or large villages, or groups of villages.

Municipal Government in Calcutta dates from 1840. In that year the town was divided into four divisions, and the Calcutta Municipal Acts. Government was empowered, on the application of two-thirds of the rate-payers in any division, to entrust to them the assessment, collection and management of the rates on a scheme to be approved by Government. But this self-working system never worked, for not a single application was made to Government under the Act. Then followed experiments with seven Commissioners, with four and three. In 1856, Municipal legislation was undertaken by the Government of India for the Presidency towns. By Act XIV of that year provision was made for the conservancy and improvement

of the town of Calcutta (and other Presidency towns), the responsibility being vested in "the Municipal Commissioners," meaning the persons, however designated, constituted to administer the funds for the purpose. Act XXV provided for the assessment and collection of municipal rates and taxes in those towns, and, by Act XXVIII, three Municipal Commissioners were to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor for the conservancy and improvement of Calcutta, and power was given them to raise additional funds for drainage and lighting. These powers were utilized : in March 1859, the Municipal Commissioners submitted Messrs. Rendels' report on their Engineer's, Mr. Clark's, scheme for the drainage and sewerage of the town.

In 1856 the Excise Law (*i. e.*, the law to regulate the liquor-traffic) of Bengal was amended and consolidated.

Excise.

In no subject has the policy of Government more constantly oscillated than it has in Excise, between *sadar* distilleries and outstills, and perhaps the last word has not yet been said. The following extracts from an important Despatch of 1890 will show how the pendulum swung to and fro for exactly hundred years in Bengal. The variations subsequent to 1856, will be described more fully as they occurred.

"In Bengal, in the period immediately preceding British rule, the tax on spirits and drugs was for the most part levied, like other taxes, through the agency of the *zamindars* or tax farmers ; and the Bengal Excise Commission (of 1883) recorded their opinion that under that system "it is probable that there was a practically unrestricted system of outstills paying very low rates in many places." In other words, the system which the British Government found universally in force in Bengal was the worst form of the most inefficient system that has ever prevailed in the country. This system was necessarily continued for some time under British rule : under it the price of spirit was less than it has ever been anywhere in Bengal since the modern excise system was introduced in 1790, and complaints were then rife about the spread of drunkenness among the lower classes of the people.

"In 1790 the Bengal Government determined, on moral grounds, to resume from the *zamindars* the right of collecting duties on spirits and drugs, the immoderate use of spirituous liquors and drugs, "which had become prevalent among many of the lower orders of people owing to the very inconsiderable price at which they were manufactured and sold

previous to 1790," being stated in the preamble of one of the Regulations as a reason for the new rules. This was the first step taken in the direction of reform, and the ground then gained has never been lost, as the number of shops has since that date been always limited by Government and not left to be settled as caprice or the cupidity of individual land-owners dictated. The Regulations issued between 1790 and 1800 prohibited the levying of a tax on the manufacture or sale of liquors except on the part of Government, and manufacture or sale without a license from the Collector ; a daily tax was levied on each still, and the officials were instructed to reduce as much as possible the number of licenses, and to fix on stills the highest rates which could be levied without operating as a prohibition. The system thus introduced was an outstill system : each license was for one still only.

"In 1813 an attempt was made to introduce central distilleries in large towns, outstill licenses being prohibited within eight miles of any such distillery. Twenty-one central distilleries were opened ; but after a few years' experience the opinion was formed that the measure had not in general been productive of the advantage expected to be derived from it, and the distilleries were closed in all districts except five.

"After 1824 the farming system, with certain restrictions more or less strictly enforced, was tried, and the system was extended to nearly the whole Province.

"This in its turn was found to be open to objection, to lead to an encouragement of consumption, and to involve a sacrifice of revenue, by which the farmer alone benefited ; and from 1840 changes were introduced which resulted in the general re-introduction of the outstill system except in a few places where central distilleries were continued.

"In 1856, by Act XXI of that year, the Excise Law of Lower Bengal and the North-Western Provinces was consolidated and amended. The manufacture of spirit after the English method was confined to duly licensed distilleries, and the rate of duty on such spirit was fixed at one rupee a gallon : the customs duty on imported spirit was then Re. 1-8-0 a gallon. Collectors were to issue licenses to any person for the manufacture of country spirit : they were also authorized to establish distilleries for the manufacture of country spirit and to fix limits within which no liquor, except that manufactured at such distillery, should be sold, and no stills established or worked. There is no mention in the Act of the levy of a fixed rate of duty per gallon on the produce of such distilleries ; the Boards of Revenue were merely given a general power to prescribe the conditions on which spirits might be manufactured at them. The levy of a tax or duty on licenses for retail sale was

prescribed, and generally wide powers were given for the restriction and taxation of the trade in spirits and drugs.

"In 1859 the Government of India suggested to all Local Governments the expediency, on moral and fiscal grounds, of extending the central distillery system, with a fixed rate of duty per gallon, to many populous localities, if not universally. The Bengal Government adopted this view, thinking that the measure would render it possible to increase the rate of tax and discourage consumption. The system was accordingly introduced almost universally throughout the Province in the next few years, the objections of local officials that in many places the system could not be worked successfully being over-ruled.

"Before the end of the decade numerous objections to this wholesale measure were forced on the attention of the Government, and in 1874 several memorials were received praying that steps might be taken to counteract the growing increase of drinking and drunkenness. The objections to the universal adoption of central distilleries were so strong that it was decided to re-introduce outstills in certain places; from 1871 steps in this direction were taken, and after 1877 the reaction was carried to very great lengths, and outstills again became the general rule, central distilleries being the exception.

"A few years' experience of this system proved that, while it was not open to the objection of forcing the people to illicit practices, it was open to that of insufficiently discouraging drinking, as, in some cases, it admitted of liquor being sold at very low rates. This consideration led to the appointment of the Bengal Excise Commission in 1883, and since the Report of that Commission was received the Government has been engaged in correcting the evils arising from the excessive reaction in favour of the outstill system; the central distillery system is being re-introduced wherever there is a prospect of its being worked with satisfactory results: and the measures for regulating outstills recommended by the Commission are being adopted.

"This brief notice of Bengal is sufficient to show that since 1790, when the worst conceivable system existed, taken over from the previous Native Government, attempts have been continually made to introduce the sounder and more scientific practice of levying a fixed duty on each gallon of spirit, and that the errors committed have generally been the introduction of reforms in too great haste, and the consequent reaction and reversion to stricter systems which invariably followed. The question of the comparative merits of the central distillery and the outstill in particular localities is one on which there may be, and is, great difference of opinion, because their relative advantages cannot

be tested by figures. The danger of the immediate future is that the reaction against the outstill system may now be carried too far. But one branch of the excise question refers to the number of shops, and the rates of duty. If the number of shops has not been increased, and the rates of duty not lowered, still more if the number of shops has been reduced and the rate of duty raised wherever a fixed duty levied, it will be clear that in these respects at least there has been no relaxation in the restrictions on drinking."

In 1856 a Bill was brought in by Sir J. P. Grant, as Member of The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act. Council, and passed as Act XV, to remove all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows. This had long been a subject of controversy, which was thus settled once for all. The preamble of the Act itself contains sufficient reasons for its enactment :—

"Whereas it is known that, by the law as administered in the Civil Courts established in the territories in the possession and under the Government of the East India Company, Hindu widows with certain exceptions are held to be, by reason of their having been once married, incapable of contracting a second valid marriage, and the offspring of such widows by any second marriage are held to be illegitimate and incapable of inheriting property :

and whereas many Hindus believe that this imputed legal incapacity, although it is in accordance with established custom, is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion, and desire that the Civil law administered by the Courts of Justice shall no longer prevent those Hindus who may be so minded from adopting a different custom, in accordance with the dictates of their own consciences :

and whereas it is just to relieve all such Hindus from this legal incapacity of which they complain : and the removal of all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows will tend to the promotion of good morals and to the public welfare ;" it was enacted &c. &c.

The first clause of the Act was—"No marriage contracted between Hindus shall be invalid and the issue of no such marriage shall be illegitimate by reason of the woman having been previously married or betrothed to another person who was dead at the time of such marriage, any custom and any interpretation of Hindu law to the contrary notwithstanding." Much has been written and might be written on the policy of passing this law and on its effect on Hindu Society.

The Police of a Province is one of the first matters requiring attention: and in no Province of India was the Police force more in need of improvement than in Bengal. Sir George Campbell wrote thus in his *Modern India*, in 1852:—

“ In Bengal Proper, on the contrary, both the police and people are effeminate, and the former has attained an unfortunate notoriety as being more active for evil than good. The misdeeds of the Bengal police may be a good deal exaggerated, but they are doubtless inefficient and apt to be corrupt. The chance of efficiency seems to be much lessened by the precautions which it is necessary to take against extortion and malversation on their part. A Bengal Inspector, instead of being an active, soldier-like man, mounted on a pony, is generally an obese individual, clad in fine linen, who can hardly walk, and would think it death to get on horseback, who is carried about in a palanquin on men's shoulders, and affects rather a judicial than a thief-catching character. When a serious crime occurs, he *first* writes an elaborate report, and perhaps intimates his intention of proceeding *next day* to investigate the case; and, when he does go, he takes up his quarters in the village, and, summoning all and sundry to appear before him, holds his court. This is just the man to suit a prosecutor who gets up his own case at his own discretion and produces his own witnesses, and little is gained by an unfortunate, stripped by *dacoits*, who finds the Inspector quartered upon him, taking useless depositions. But, after all the great cause of crime in Bengal is the effeminacy of the people, who do not defend themselves against either *dacoits* or Police. It is certain that, at this moment, in many districts of Bengal, the inhabitants are not only in danger of secret thieves but of open robbers; that gang-robberies are frequent, and any man's house may be invaded in the night by armed force.”

Sir George Campbell referred to the same subject in his Administration Report for 1871-2. “ It has been said that in Bengal the rich and powerful have been less restrained and the poor less protected than in other provinces and up to that time (the mutiny) this was so in the most literal sense of the word. There was in the interior of Bengal a lawlessness and high-handed defiance of authority by people who took the law into their own hands by open violence, which would not have been tolerated for a moment in any other part of India. It required all the energies of the first Lieutenant-Governor to deal with these and other patent evils.”

Sir John Strachey has described* Bengal as having been, in 1853, the most backward of the Provinces of the Empire. "There were almost no roads or bridges or schools, and there was no proper protection to life and property. The police was worthless and robberies and violent crimes by gangs of armed men, which were unheard-of in other provinces were common not far from Calcutta. From the date of the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, a great change began and constant improvement has been going on ever since. The Courts have been purified, the police has been organised, crimes of violence have almost ceased."

Subsequent to the abolition of the office of Superintendent of Police for the Lower Provinces in 1853, the Commissioners of Circuit had the general control of the Police in their Divisions, submitting their periodical returns and annual reports regarding each district, direct to Government. The Magistrate of each district was held responsible for the actual management of his own police and was bound to keep the Commissioner constantly informed of all his proceedings, being entitled to the assistance and support of the Commissioner in all cases of difficulty. There was then also a Commissioner for the suppression of *Dacoity*, working through a system of approvers. In the years 1854-57, the question of the best form of police administration in Bengal was much discussed. Lord Dalhousie, in his last Despatch as Governor of Bengal to the Government of India on the 28th of April 1854, held that the separation of the offices of Magistrate and Collector had been an error and that the true theory of Government in India was the entire subjection of every Civil Officer in a Division to the Commissioner at the head of it. Sir J. P. Grant, as Member of Council, in more than one Minute strongly opposed the reunion of the offices of Magistrate and Collector; Sir F. Halliday, as Lieutenant-Governor, as strongly advocated it. The Governor-General (Lord Canning) in his Minute of the 18th February 1857 expressed his opinion that reason, no less than experience, pointed to the necessity of concentrating the whole executive power of the Government in each district of Bengal in the hands of one experienced man. He thought the division of authority was to be avoided rather than sought. As regards the people, he fully believed that the

* (India, Edition 1894)

patriarchal form of Government was in their present condition most congenial to them and best understood by them : and, as regards the governing power, "the concentration of all responsibility upon one officer cannot fail to keep his attention alive, and to stimulate his energy in every department to the utmost, whilst it will preclude the growth of those obstructions to good Government which are apt to spring up where two co-ordinate officers divide the authority."

While this question of the separation of the offices of Magistrate and Collector in Bengal was under discussion, many allusions were made to the old cry of the inadequacy of the Police. For instance Sir J. P. Grant wrote "It is very true that we are pressed with the sense of police affairs in Bengal being amiss now. But what is the root of the evil? No one denies that police affairs in Bengal will continue amiss, till an adequate constabulary force and trusty native officials in the *thanas* are provided for it, till Bengal shall be put on an equal footing in this respect with the rest of India :" and Sir F. Halliday, in March 1855, "It is stated with perfect justice, that one great cause, perhaps the greatest, of the present inefficiency of the police is the want of an adequate constabulary force," and, "I suppose that every body will agree in desiring that the constabulary force should be as large and the pay of the police as high as the nature of the service requires, and the Government finances can afford." Sir F. Halliday's suggestions for the improvement of the *mufassal* police assumed definite shape in April 1855. It was proposed not to touch the pay of the police *darogas* which had been raised in 1843 : but to raise the *muharrirs* to three grades of Rs. 40, Rs. 35, and Rs. 30 a month, the *jamadars* to three ranks of Rs. 20, Rs. 15, and Rs. 10 a month, and the *barkandazes* to Rs. 6, Rs. 5 and Rs. 4 a month : the total increase *per annum* amounting to Rs. 3,38,609. It was admitted that the outlay though considerable could not be regarded as final, as the police establishment was numerically weaker than it should be for the protection of property and the preservation of good order. The official application concluded thus: "The immediate object of the outlay now proposed is to remove what has hitherto been a standing reproach of Indian Administration in Bengal, and the Lieutenant-Governor would urge the matter upon the attention of

the Supreme Government with an expression of earnest hope that a public measure which is in his opinion surpassed by *no other* in importance, may be recommended to the Hon'ble Court. The inadequate payment of the subordinate officers of police was one of the matters, it may be remarked, which formed the subject of investigation before the late Parliamentary Committee appointed to enquire into the operation of the Charter Act of 1834." The Government of India passed no immediate orders on this application of the Bengal Government. On the 4th June 1856 the Local Government again pressed the question, by submitting an elaborate Minute (of ninety-three paragraphs, with annexures) dated the 30th April 1856 by Sir F. Halliday on the improvement of the police and the administration of criminal justice in Bengal. He admitted the badness of the *mufassal* police, and the insufficiency of the measures previously taken to improve them: he regarded the thirty-three subdivisional Magistracies then existing as too few to exercise adequate control: and he dwelt on the corrupt state of the village *chaukidars*. At the same time he considered that it would be vain to improve the agency for the detection and apprehension of criminals unless the agency for trying them was also improved: "no doubt the badness of the police and the inefficiency of the tribunals act and react on each other, and both are concerned in bringing about the deplorable existing circumstances."... "Whether right or wrong the general native opinion is that the administration of criminal justice is little better than a lottery, in which however the best chances are with the criminals; and I think this also is very much the opinion of the European *mufassal* community . . . —the corruption and extortion of the police, which causes it to be popularly said that *dacoity* is bad enough, but the subsequent police inquiry very much worse." The inexperience of the Magistrates did not escape notice. Sir F. Halliday considered five measures indispensably necessary—(1) the improvement of the character and position of the village *chaukidars* or watchmen, (2) adequate salaries and fair prospects of advancement to the stipendiary police, (3) the appointment of more experienced officers as covenanted *zilla* Magistrates, (4) a considerable increase in the number of uncovenanted or Deputy Magistrates, (5) improvement in the Criminal Courts of justice. He asked for one

hundred more Deputy Magistrates, and for the junction of judicial and executive power in all Magistrates. As to (5) above many suggestions were offered. The assistance afforded by good roads to the police was mentioned ; and he advocated the encouragement of good service among the *amla* and the institution of a Civil Order of Merit for natives. Sir F. Halliday also recapitulated the arguments for and against the extended employment of rich and powerful *zamin-dars* and planters in the *mufassal* as Honorary Magistrates, but did not recommend the measure for immediate adoption. Finally he dwelt upon the importance of a popular system of vernacular education, as sure to prove cheaper and more enduringly profitable than the best system of administration by the most efficient and costly establishments.

Lord Canning, in the Minute of 18th February 1857, already quoted, proposed to reorganize the police of Bengal, without waiting for a plan applicable to the whole of India, and to sanction the additional charges asked for by Sir F. Halliday. In writing to the Court of Directors in May 1857, the Government of India unanimously reported that the appointment of one Police Commissioner for the whole of the Lower Provinces was not expedient and that the Commissioners should exercise authority over the police as well as other branches of the executive. They also recommended a moveable corps of military police for each Division, to be ready to assist the civil police in case of need, being employed ordinarily in station and escort duties. In consequence of the Sonthal insurrection, the Government of India determined on permanently locating a second regiment or irregular cavalry in Bengal, and, with reference to the apparent necessity for more troops also, asked Sir F. Halliday what additional troops would suffice and where they should be placed. The opportunity was taken of recommending a scheme for raising a body of military police for the internal defence of Bengal, by which, if well organized and officered, the peace of the country might be preserved, even on such occasions as the Sonthal insurrection, with very small or no assistance from regular troops and at a much smaller expense. A force was sanctioned, to consist of a battalion of foot of 100 sepoys, and of a *risala* of 100 *sawars*. The corps was raised near Lahore and sufficiently organized for ordinary military purposes by October 1856, was

marched down under its commandant, Captain Rattray, and was completing its drill at Suri when the Mutinies broke out. The whole Corps volunteered to go out against the insurgents and was most actively and usefully employed. In 1858, a military police corps was sanctioned, with a strength of 900 for each of the 10 battalions, all under Major Rattray as Inspector ; but for reasons of economy not more than 700 per battalion were enrolled. These battalions were largely recruited from the rude but hardy tribes of the Non-Regulation Provinces, each consisting of men of the same race. The military police at Chittagong were of great use soon after their formation, in repelling an incursion of the Kukis upon the eastern frontier, and in quieting excitement among the *raiyats* of the indigo districts : by a display of force in suitable places all tendency to riot and violent disturbance was suppressed. In 1856-57 it was brought to the notice of Government that several daring cases of robbery upon travellers and attacks upon the Government bullock train had lately been committed on the Grand Trunk road and that the density of the jungles skirting the road in many parts afforded thieves and plunderers convenient shelter to ambuscade while watching the approach of their victims. Government resolved to extend the clearance of jungle on each side of the road from 50 to 200 yards, to increase and reorganize the road police force, to build additional station-houses, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart, and to ensure more vigilant and active supervision over the police.

Some idea of the want of means of communication in Bengal may be formed from the following facts. In 1855-6 Communications. an Engineer Officer was still engaged in preparing detailed plans and estimates and investigating the question of the best starting point for the Calcutta-Darjeeling road from the Ganges ; in 1856-7 preference was provisionally given to a road from Caragola Ghat, opposite the intended Railway Station at Pirpainti, to run through Purnea and Kissenganj to Titalya and there join the existing road to Darjeeling. The cost was assumed at 21 lakhs of rupees. The whole road, from Caragola Ghat to Siliguri, 126 miles, was not complete in 1861-2 : by that date it was not metalled, and the bridging of five large rivers still remained to be carried out : in 1864-65 one river was still unbridged. The cart Road from Siliguri to Darjeeling, (then supposed to be 62 miles

in length), was only commenced in 1861-62 at the two ends, Kurseong and the Saddle: nothing had then been done towards the formation of the road from Kurseong to the plains. In the year 1855-56, a Committee was appointed to consider the project of bridging the Hooghly at or near Calcutta, and submitted its report. This project was dropped in 1859-60. In 1855-56 the Calcutta-Jessore Road had been sanctioned. The project of the Cuttack Road was submitted to the Court of Directors, as it was to cost nearly 9 *lakhs*. Four streams on the Grand Trunk Road remained to be bridged. And (to anticipate a little) there were in 1861-62 in Bengal 11 Imperial Trunk Roads existing or under construction, extending over 1994 miles, with Imperial branch roads aggregating 1145 miles: the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the Karamnassa was nearly completed. It was expected that these roads would take 167 *lakhs*, to complete them, whereas the funds available were only 7 to 8 *lakhs* a year. Schemes were plentiful enough but the means and time were wanting.

No better account of the early beginnings of railways in Bengal Railways : The E. I. is likely to be forthcoming than that recorded by Railway. Lord Dalhousie in his final Minute of 28th February 1856, from which the following paragraphs are taken :—

"The subject of railway communication in India was first laid before the Supreme Government by Mr. Macdonald Stephenson, in 1843. In 1849 the Hon'ble Company engaged in a contract with the East Indian Railway Company, for the construction of an experimental line at a cost not exceeding one million sterling. The line was to be selected with a view to its forming a portion of a future trunk line to the North Western Provinces. On that ground the section from Howrah towards Rajmahal was chosen, with a branch to the Coal field at Raniganj. In the cold weather of 1851, a line was surveyed between Burdwan and Rajmahal. In the following season that survey was continued to Allahabad.

In the Spring of 1853 the Government of India submitted to the Court of Directors its views upon the general question of railways for the Indian Empire. The Hon'ble Court was respectfully advised to encourage the formation of railways in India to the utmost. It was urged not to hesitate to engage in the enterprise upon a scale commensurate to the vast extent of the territories which had been placed under its Government, and to the great political and commercial interests which

were involved. It was specifically recommended that, in the first instance, a system of trunk lines should be formed, connecting the interior of each Presidency with its principal port, and connecting the several Presidencies with each other.

The trunk lines which were proposed, and of which the general direction could alone be given, were,—1st.—A line from Calcutta to Lahore : 2nd.—A line from Agra, or some point in Hindustan, to Bombay, or alternatively a line from Bombay by the Narbada valley to meet at some point the line from Calcutta to Lahore : 3rd.—A line uniting Bombay and Madras : 4th.—A line from Madras to the Malabar coast. The Hon'ble Court was pleased to give its approval to the general plan which the Supreme Government had sketched.

Some progress has already been made in the construction of most of these lines ; and measures have been taken for the construction of them all in due course of time. In the Bengal Presidency, the line from Calcutta to Raniganj, a distance of 120 miles, was opened on the 3rd February 1855. The Court of Directors has sanctioned the construction of a line from Burdwan to Delhi, on a capital of £10,000,000 sterling. The direction of the line from Burdwan to Allahabad having been previously approved, that from Allahabad to Cawnpore was sanctioned in June 1854, from Cawnpore to near Agra in December 1854, and thence *via* Agra and Muttra to Delhi in November 1855. Surveys of two alternative lines from Delhi or Agra to Lahore were executed in 1854-55 : additional surveys have been authorized from Mirzapur to Jabalpur, and from Cawnpore to Bhilsa.

It has been stated above that the trunk line from Calcutta to Burdwan, with a branch to Raniganj, has already been opened. It is expected that the section of this trunk line which lies between Mirzapur and Agra (except the bridge over the Jamna at Allahabad) will be completed by the end of 1857 and arrangements are in progress for opening this portion of the line separately. It is further expected that the section between Burdwan and Rajmahal will be completed in 1858, and the remainder probably not till 1859."

In fact the East India Railway was opened to the Ajai river in October 1858 : to Rajmahal in October 1859 : to Bhagalpur in 1861 : to Monghyr in February 1862 : and to Benares (541 miles) in December 1862.

Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, having in January 1855 drawn the attention of the Court of Directors to the numerous discrepancies to be found in the salaries of corresponding officers under the different

Presidencies, the Government of India on the 15th March 1855 appointed Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. Ricketts, B. C. S., Member of the Board of Revenue, to be Commissioner for the revision of civil salaries and establishments throughout India. His duty was to equalise salaries and duties all over India, and reduce as far as possible the aggregate expenditure. Thus every appointment came under scrutiny in Bengal as in the rest of India. Sir H. Ricketts presented an exhaustive Report to the Government of India on the 1st September 1858; and on the 3rd June 1859 the Government of India reviewed his Report in a Despatch addressed to Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State. The principles on which Sir H. Ricketts conducted the revision were considered generally to be unobjectionable; but Government excepted the measure by which he proposed to open certain appointments to all classes of servants, and award the same salary to the incumbents without reference to class, whether they were Civilians, or Military Officers, East Indians or Natives. Whereas Sir H. Ricketts had recommended reductions in salaries amounting to Rs. 11,20,435 a year, as compared with existing salaries, the Government recommended a reduction of Rs. 10,33,423. Sir H. Ricketts proposed a reduction of 12.15 per cent in the aggregate pay of the officers of the Judicial and Land Revenue Departments in Bengal. Including proposed improvements in many departments, his recommendations would have resulted, on the whole, in an annual increase of Rs. 9,81,457 *per annum*. I can trace no comprehensive orders on this Report, and have always understood that no orders were passed on it as a whole.

In the year 1856-57, some remarkable correspondence took place on the subject of the Hindu Festival called *Charak Puja*.

The Court of Directors having remarked that, if *Charak Puja*, the practice of swinging on *Charak* was found to be attended with cruelty, and liable to be enforced without the free consent of parties submitting to it, Government would doubtless consider what measures should be adopted, an inquiry was made whether the existing law was sufficient for preventing the crime, or whether special measures were required. Before reports were received, however, the Court of Directors wrote again saying that they preferred that endeavours for the suppression of this practice should be based on the exertion of influence rather than upon any

act of authority. At the same time the Calcutta Missionary Conference memorialised Government, not asking for interference with the religious ceremony of the *Charak Puja*, but for the suppression of the cruelties, the acts of barbarism and suffering, which accompanied its celebration during the three principal days of the festival. "These devotees," it was said, "cast themselves on thorns and upraised knives; they pierce their arms or tongues by iron arrows, draw strings through the flesh of their sides, or fix thereto spikes that are heated by continually burning fire, while others swing on the *Charak* tree by hooks fastened through the muscles of their backs." After careful consideration Sir. F. Halliday came to the conclusion that, as the case was one of pain voluntarily undergone, the remedy must be left to the Missionary and the school-master, and that, as stated by the Court of Directors, all such cruel ceremonies must be discouraged by influence rather than by authority.

During his term of office Sir F. Halliday made extensive tours, visiting every considerable station under

his control except Assam, and including the opium agency at Ghazipur in the N. W. Provinces. His tours were for the first time recorded in 1856-57. The tour commenced on the 30th June and terminated on the 7th September 1856. It was mainly a water expedition and comprised a visit to the river stations of Berhampore, Murshidabad, Rajmahal, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Barh, Patna, Chapra, Ghazipur. Purnea and Malda were also visited. The steamer and yacht were nearly wrecked in a severe gale a little above Rampur Boalia. Sir F. Halliday subsequently proceeded to Calcutta by the unusual route of the Mathabhanga, to observe the state of the Nadia district. It was evidently a year of high floods, as the whole country was one sheet of water, so that it was difficult to distinguish even the course of the river, and the villages, except those on the higher lands, were nearly submerged. "The Lieutenant-Governor made a practice at each station of inspecting the several public offices, the school, the library, the jail, the dispensary, and any other public institution belonging to the place; and all matters demanding his consideration were brought forward, discussed and investigated on the spot, with all the advantage which personal communication usually ensures.

The Lieutenant-Governor also gave his immediate attention to all representations, petitions and complaints that were submitted to him by the people, to whom, both high and low, every facility of access was given. Public darbars were held at Berhampore and Dacca." I have thus quoted the original record of the work done on these tours, as it contains a description applicable to all of them, and need not be repeated. In December Sir F. Halliday visited Burdwan, Raniganj, and Bankura : travelling chiefly by the East Indian Railway. On the 15th January 1857, he proceeded, *via* the Sundarbans, to Rampur Boalia, where his camp had been formed, and marched through Dinajpur and Rangpur, to determine on the best site for a new Cantonment for a regiment of Native Infantry and two troops of Irregular Cavalry in that direction. The Government of India were at that time contemplating measures against the Government of Bhutan, to punish them for past outrages and restrain them for the future. In a Minute of the 5th March 1857, Sir F. Halliday proposed, as a punitive measure, to take possession not of all the Bengal (*sic*) Duars, but of the territory acquired by Bhutan by our cessions of 1780-84 and 1787. For the execution of this threat the advance of troops beyond Rangpur was required, and, after full consideration on the spot, he recommended that the Cantonment should be located at Jalpaiguri, and this was the site finally chosen. He then proceeded to Darjeeling for a few weeks and was there when the Mutinies began. He immediately returned to Calcutta.

Sir John Kaye has recorded the influence which Sir F. Halliday had over Lord Canning. During the early months of the Mutinies, when proposals were being made for the disarming of the whole native population and every native soldier was under suspicion of being disaffected, Lord Canning had persistently refused to disarm his own bodyguard or to substitute a European guard for the Sepoy sentries at Government House. Sir John Kaye writes : 'At last, Mr. Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who had come down to the Presidency from Darjeeling (early in June 1857), so wrought upon the Governor-General by telling him that his duty to his country demanded that he should take every precaution to protect a life, which at such a time was of incalculable value, that he began reluctantly to yield, and to bethink himself of consenting to the change which had been so often vainly pressed upon him.

"It was no easy task that Halliday had set himself and it was not easily accomplished. Time did something to mitigate the difficulty, for the general disaffection of the Bengal Army was every week becoming more apparent. But the personal influence of the Lieutenant-Governor did more. Lord Canning said of him afterwards, that for many months he had been the "right hand of the Government." A man of commanding stature and altogether of a goodly presence, he looked like one born to command. He had all his life been a steady robust workman, and he had brought to his work no small amount of natural ability and administrative sagacity of the most serviceable kind. His lot had been cast in the hitherto tranquil regions of Bengal. No opportunity of proving his powers in action had been afforded to him ; but his sufficiency in council had won the confidence of successive Governments, and in all that related to the Lower Provinces there was no man whose experiences were of greater value. To Lord Canning, who, wisely or unwisely, had been chary of his confidences to those immediately about him, the arrival of Mr. Halliday had been extremely welcome, and from that time there was no member of the Government whom he so frequently consulted or whose opinions he so much respected. But still, only by repeatedly urging upon the Governor-General that his life belonged to his country, and that he had no right to expose it to any unnecessary risks, could his Lieutenant induce him to allow the order to be issued for European guards to be posted at Government House. It was not, indeed until the month of August had expired that the European guard marched into the compound of Government House, under the immediate orders of the Lieutenant-Governor*."

Per contra, Sir H. S. Cunningham records another incident, with reference to Lord Canning's nobility of character—"Sir F. Halliday narrates how, on one occasion, when the outcry against him was loudest, Lord Canning showed him papers, illustrating the scandalous brutality of certain of the special tribunals. The Lieutenant-Governor urged their publication, by way of reply to his calumniators. "No," said Lord Canning, taking the papers and locking them up in his drawer, "I had rather submit to any obloquy than publish to the world what would so terribly disgrace

* This was either on the 31st. of August or the 1st. of September.

my countrymen. It is sufficient that I have prevented them for the future."

It is not my purpose to give a general history of the Mutinies, which would involve an incursion into regions far

The Mutinies. beyond the purview of this work. But it cannot be overlooked that the Mutinies absorbed all thoughts, and so dislocated the machinery of Government—both the Supreme and the Local—that little else could be attended to during 1857 and part of 1858. Sir F. Halliday himself was obliged to be in such frequent and close personal communication with Lord Canning that he had to take rooms overlooking Government House and repair to them daily for the transaction, at much inconvenience, of the business which he, as Lieutenant-Governor, usually conducted at Belvedere, 3 miles out of Calcutta. It will be remembered that the first indications of the troubles to come were manifested in Lower Bengal. Early in 1857 the rumour of the greased cartridges was spread at Dum-Dum: the 19th N. I. mutinied at Berhampore on the 26th of February and were disbanded on the 31st March at Barrackpore; the affair of Mungul Panday of the 34th N. I. and the misconduct of that regiment occurred also at Barrackpore on the 29th March, leading after full inquiry, to their disbandment on the 6th May. The air was full of rumours: and accordingly the

Proclamation. Government of India issued the following Proclamation.

Proclamation of the 16th May 1857, under the signature of Sir C. Beadon, Secretary in the Home Department: it may be here quoted, as it applied to Bengal and was published in Calcutta:—

"The Governor-General of India in Council has warned the Army of Bengal, that the tales by which the men of certain Regiments have been led to suspect that offence to their Religion or injury to their Caste is meditated by the Government of India are malicious falsehoods. The Governor-General-in-Council has learnt that this suspicion continues to be propagated by designing and evil-minded men, not only within the Army but amongst other classes of the people. He knows that endeavours are made to persuade Hindus and Muhammadans, Soldiers and Civil Subjects, that their religion is threatened secretly as well as openly, by the acts of the Government, and that the Government is seeking in various ways to entrap them into a loss of Caste for purposes of its own. Some have been already deceived and led astray

by these tales. Once more then the Governor-General-in-Council warns all classes against the deceptions that are practised on them.

"The Government of India has invariably treated the religious feelings of all its subjects with careful respect. The Governor-General-in-Council has declared that it will never cease to do so. He now repeats that declaration, and he emphatically proclaims that the Government of India entertains no desire to interfere with their Religion or Caste, and that nothing has been, or will be done by the Government to affect the free exercise of the observances of Religion or Caste by every class of the people. The Government of India has never deceived its subjects; therefore the Governor-General-in-Council now calls upon them to refuse their belief to seditious lies. This notice is addressed to those who hitherto, by habitual loyalty and orderly conduct, have shown their attachment to the Government and a well-founded faith in its protection and justice.

The Governor-General-in-Council enjoins all such persons to pause before they listen to false Guides and Traitors who would lead them into danger and disgrace."

The feeling of insecurity was so great in Calcutta in the month of June that, with some hesitation, the Governor-General yielded to the demand for the enrolment of Volunteers: and on the 13th the following Notification was issued—

"The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council has received from the inhabitants of Calcutta many offers to serve as Volunteers in aid of the Authority of Government, and for the preservation of the Security and Order of the City, should any attempt at disturbance take place therein. The Governor-General-in-Council accepts these offers, and, in doing so, he desires to express the warm acknowledgments of the Government to those who have so zealously tendered to it their support. Accordingly all persons willing to serve in the Corps of Volunteer Guards of Calcutta, either as Horsemen or on Foot, and to place themselves as members of that Force at the disposal of the Government, are hereby invited to enrol their names and places of residence at the office of the Town Major in Fort William. The Governor-General-in-Council has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant Colonel Orfeur Cavanagh to the Command of the Volunteer Guards. Arms, accoutrements, and a plain uniform will be provided for each person enrolled."

The Corps consisted of a battery of 4 guns, 5 troops of cavalry, and 7 companies of infantry. It answered every expectation and

most satisfactorily performed all the duties required of it. It was broken up from the 1st June 1859, when the crisis had passed away and confidence had been restored, so that the necessity for a special corps to aid in the protection of Calcutta no longer existed and there was no further occasion to demand the time and services of the inhabitants for the purpose. The Viceroy in the name of the Government of India, publicly acknowledged the services of the Volunteer Guards, and thanked them for the cheerful and hearty manner in which they had performed their duties at a great sacrifice of their time and convenience. By another Notification of the 23rd July 1857 the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry Corps was formed as follows :—

‘The Governor-General-in-Council has reason to know that there are in Calcutta, Bengal, and the North-Western provinces, many Englishmen and others whose peaceable avocations have been interrupted by the disturbed state of the country ; and who, although in no way connected with the Government, are willing and eager to give an active support to its authority at the present time by sharing service in the field with the Troops of the Queen and of the East India Company.

The Governor-General-in-Council has thorough confidence in the loyalty, courage, and enterprizing zeal of the community to which he refers ; and he is satisfied that service, rendered in the spirit in which they are ready to give it, will be most valuable to the state.

With the view of availing himself of such service in the most effectual manner, His Lordship in Council directs that a Corps of Cavalry be formed, to be called the “Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry,” and to be equipped and prepared for duty in the disturbed districts.

The Regiment will be constituted as follows :— 1 Major (Commandant) : 1 Captain (Second in Command) : 1 Adjutant : 4 Lieutenants : 8 Cornets : 1 Medical Officer : 200 Men. The Regiment will be divided into 4 Troops : 1 Lieutenant and 2 Cornets to be attached to each Troop.

Those who enlist will be provided by the Government with a horse, arms, uniform, accoutrements, and tents.

The Corps, although in spirit a Volunteer Corps, will receive pay at the following rates :—Each Trooper Rs. 100 a month, as provision for man and horse. Cornets, Rs. 160 each a month. Lieutenants, Rs. 250 each a month. Second in Command, Rs. 500 a month. The Major, the Adjutant, and the Medical Officer will be taken from the Army of Bengal.

The post of Captain (Second in command) is conferred by the

Governor-General-in-Council upon Mr. F. C. Chapman, whose gallant and energetic service as a Volunteer in the North-Western Provinces marks him as eminently qualified to hold it. The Lieutenants and Cornets will be chosen by the members of the Corps from amongst themselves, subject to the approval of the Governor-General-in-Council. The enlistment will be for one year, with the understanding that, should the Governor-General-in-Council require it, service is to be continued for a second year. The retirement of any member of the Corps, before the expiry of one year, will take place only with the permission of the Governor-General-in-Council.

The widows of those who may fall in action will receive life pensions: the widows of troopers and cornets at the rate assigned to the widows of Ensigns in the Army: the widows of the Lieutenants and Captain, at the rates assigned to those ranks in the Army."

The feeling of alarm in Calcutta culminated on "Panic Sunday" Panic Sunday. the 14th June, which has been described by Kaye and Malleson. The panic has been declared to have been groundless and unreasonable, but of its existence there can be no doubt, as I have heard from men who were in Calcutta at the time. Numbers of people, in higher and lower positions, sought refuge in Fort William and on board the ships in the port, and it devolved chiefly on the Town Major to reassure them and induce them to return to their own houses.

Among the measures required to deal with the crisis caused by the Mutinies, it became at an early date necessary to pass a Press Act. On the 13th of June 1857, a Bill was introduced by Lord Canning himself into the Legislative Council and on the same day became Act XV of 1857, an Act to regulate the establishment of Printing Presses and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers. It passed without a dissentient voice and temporarily placed the Indian Press very much in the position in which it was permanently before Sir Charles Metcalfe's Government in 1835 passed Act XI of that year, whereby complete liberty was given to it. It may be mentioned, in passing, that, on the 1st of February 1836, the Court of Directors reprimanded the Governor-General-in-Council for passing an Act releasing the Press from restrictions and recorded their opinion that the passing of such an Act without a reference at home was wholly indefensible, but they abstained

from disallowing it. The framers of Act XI of 1835, when arguing in favour of the liberty of the Press in India in the ordinary state of things, recognized not only the right but the bounden duty of the Government to suspend that liberty on the possible occurrence of certain emergencies, when such a measure might become necessary for the safety of the State. An emergency of the nature contemplated having arisen, and one, it was confidently assumed, very much graver than was thought in 1835 to be within the range of probability, Act XV of 1857 was passed in the belief (confirmed by the opinions of officers of the highest character engaged at the moment in distant Provinces in supporting the British cause) that the unregulated freedom of the Press at the then pending crisis was tending strongly to the extension of revolt, and the weakening of the British power.

The Act prohibited the keeping or. using of Printing Presses without license from the Government. The Government took discretionary power to grant licenses, subject to such conditions (if any) as were thought fit ; it was also empowered to revoke at any time the licenses granted. The publication or circulation in India of newspapers, books, or other printed papers, of any particular description, might also be prohibited by order of the Government. The Act made no distinction between the English and native Press. There were, when it passed, more than one newspaper in the English language written, owned, and published by natives, almost exclusively for circulation among native readers, and, although no fear was entertained that treasonable matter would be designedly published in any English newspaper, yet it was deemed desirable to guard in those times against errors in discretion and temper, as well as intentional sedition. The Act was applicable not only to Bengal but to all India. Its duration was limited to one year, which expired on the 13th June 1858. The licenses abovementioned were given on certain conditions, the violation of any of which enabled Government to seize the types and presses of the offender. The conditions were as follows :—application for licenses to keep or use any printing press or types or other materials and articles for printing within the town of Calcutta were to be made to the Commissioner of Police, and the Commissioner was to forward a copy of every such application to the Government of India, in the Home

Department, from whence licenses were to be issued. The Lieutenant-Governor was authorised to grant licenses outside Calcutta, and to appoint any person to receive applications for such licenses in any part of Bengal. The conditions upon which licenses to keep or use any printing press or types or other materials or articles for printing were ordinarily to be granted, were :—

“ That no book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work printed at such press, or with such materials or articles, shall contain any observations or statements impugning the motives or designs of the British Government either in England or in India, or in any way tending to bring the said Government into hatred or contempt, to excite disaffection or unlawful resistance to its orders, or to weaken its lawful authority, or the lawful authority of its civil or military servants :—

“ That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper or other work shall contain observations or statements having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference by Government with their religious opinions and observances :—

“ That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper or other work shall contain observations having a tendency to weaken the friendship towards the British Government of native princes, chiefs, or states in dependence upon or alliance with it.”

The above conditions were to apply equally to original matter and to matter copied from other publications.

On 29th June it was resolved to warn the publisher of the newspaper called *The Friend of India* against a “repetition of remarks of the dangerous nature” of those in an article of the 25th June on the “Centenary of Plassey.” Subsequently, the Law Officers of the Government were directed to take the necessary steps for bringing the printers and publishers of the *Durbin*, the *Sultan-ul-Akhbar*, and the *Samachar Sudhabarshan* to trial before the Supreme Court on a charge of publishing seditious libels. True bills were found by the grand Jury at the Sessions against the defendants ; but the Advocate-General was authorised not to press for punishment if the defendants connected with the two former papers would plead guilty, and express contrition for their offence. This course was accordingly adopted ; the defendants pleaded guilty, and were discharged after entering into recognisances to appear and receive judgment when called upon. The third defendant was prosecuted on the charge brought against him, but the trial resulted in a verdict

of not guilty. On 3rd July, the press called *Gulshan-i-nau-bahar* was seized, the paper of that name having published malignant articles. On 10th September the *Hurkaru* was warned and on the 18th suppressed, but, on an apology from the proprietor, the license was restored. Prominence has been given to this temporary Press Act, as it was required more for Bengal and Calcutta than for Upper India, owing to the comparatively advanced development of journalism in the Lower Provinces. It was called "the Gagging Act," and aroused a storm of indignation in the European community, on the ground that the European Press had been brought under the same restrictions as the Native Press. This was the deliberate intention of the Governor-General, who was himself in charge of the Bill. In introducing the measure in the Legislative Council on the 13th June, he said that he saw no reason, and did not consider it possible in justice, to draw any line of demarcation between European and Native publications.

It is not necessary to make more than the briefest enumeration of the other Mutiny Acts, all passed in June 1857, originally for one year, but subsequently extended until the end of 1859. They were:— No. XIV—to make further provision for the trial and punishment of certain offences relating to the army, and of offences against the State: No. XVI—to make temporary provision for the trial and punishment of heinous offences in certain districts: No. XVII—to provide temporarily for the apprehension and trial of native officers and soldiers for Mutiny and desertion. It was under Act XVI of 1857 (and under the old Regulation X of 1804) that Martial Law was proclaimed in the whole Patna Division on the 30th July, and in the whole Chota Nagpur Division on the 10th August 1857, the functions of the ordinary Criminal Courts being thereupon suspended in those Divisions in respect of heinous offences. Early in September Government ordered the Civil and Military authorities in all districts in which Martial Law had been proclaimed, and in the Bhagalpur Division, to send away all European women and children of every class to Calcutta, if possible, or at any rate to some station below Rajmahal; and none were allowed to go there. On Sunday the 4th October a Day of Special Prayer was observed in each Presidency under a Proclamation of the Governor-General. It has been remarked that, at the time of their greatest need, the

Government of India bound themselves to proceed by legal measures in the punishment of offenders against the State and disturbers of the public peace.

Though the general history of the Mutinies, including those in Upper India, does not come within the range of this work, it is necessary that some account should be given of the most important series of events in Lower Bengal of the last half of the XIXth century: and this cannot be presented in better form than in the Minute, dated the 30th September 1858, recorded by Sir F. Halliday as Lieutenant-Governor, on "the Mutinies as they affected the Lower Provinces under the Government of Bengal, 1858." No apology is required, I think, for reproducing at length so interesting a State-paper. It forms an Appendix to this Chapter.

In the section headed "Bihar Division" in his Minute on the Removal of Mr. W. Tayler, c. s. from the Commissionership of Patna. Mutinies in Lower Bengal, Sir F. Halliday alluded briefly to the occurrences at Patna which led to the removal of Mr. W. Tayler, c. s. from his post of Commissioner of Patna and the appointment of Mr. E. A. Samuell, c. s. in his place. For some time Mr. Tayler's actions and reticence had impaired his credit with the Government: the climax was reached when his order of the 31st July 1857 was issued, withdrawing the officers from the out-stations. The decision of Sir F. Halliday to remove him from his Commissionership was conveyed to Mr. Tayler on the 4th August 1857 and concurred in by the Governor-General in Council on the 18th idem. A discussion then commenced, composed of minutes, memorials and despatches &c., which, in volume and vigour, has probably never been equalled in the annals of official literature. I have come across over 500 pages of printed matter. Mr. Tayler never ceased to plead his case up to the highest tribunals and never acknowledged defeat. The whole affair has been the subject of much controversy. Mr. Tayler's side was strongly taken by Sir J. W. Kaye,* and by Colonel G. B. Malleson.† It is not my intention to weigh all that has been written, or to offer an opinion on the question whether Mr. Tayler was hardly treated or only received his deserts. Any attempt to do

* Vol. III, Book VII, Chapters II and IV of his History of the Sepoy War.

† Vol. I, Book VII, Chapter II, of his History of the Indian Mutiny.

so would require a separate treatise to itself. The whole matter was, in reality, of no very great moment, but it was vested with a fictitious importance at the time in Calcutta by the agitation which was sedulously raised and kept alive, and by the hostility of the local daily papers to the Government: it was very differently regarded when the case reached England. Leaving those who are concerned with Mr. Tayler's defence to study the pages of Kaye and Malleson, I must be content with indicating the course of the correspondence, and referring to one or two of Sir F. Halliday's Minutes on the case. The one dated the 5th August 1857 was laid before the Governor-General in Council, who entirely concurred in Sir F. Halliday's condemnation of Mr. Tayler's conduct in ordering the Civil Officers of the several districts of the Division to abandon their posts and fall back upon Dinapore, and in the propriety of his removal.

In reply to the orders for his removal Mr. Tayler submitted a long explanation of 119 paragraphs dated the 22nd August to the Lieutenant-Governor, and sent a copy with an appeal to the Government of India, besides addressing the Private Secretary to the Governor-General. On the 10th September the Lieutenant-Governor declined to reinstate him. About this time Mr. Tayler caused to be printed in Calcutta, for private circulation, his "Brief narrative of events" connected with his removal from the Commissionership of Patna. When they passed orders on the 23rd December on the appeal, the Government of India retained their opinion that the state of affairs did not justify Mr. Tayler in ordering the Civil Officers to abandon their stations, and that Sir F. Halliday was thoroughly justified in removing him on the 4th August, on the ground that at so critical a period the Division could not safely be left in his charge. They could not, they wrote, too strongly condemn Mr. Tayler's order to Major Eyre, desiring him not to advance to the relief of Arrah. They also severely censured Mr. Tayler for printing and circulating his "Brief narrative &c." and other official correspondence, as being an elaborate attack upon the Lieutenant-Governor, and disrespectful in its tone: they also entirely declined to order the Government of Bengal to employ him temporarily or otherwise. On the 29th January 1858 Mr. E. A. Samuells (who had succeeded Mr. W. Tayler as Commissioner), addressed Government (81 paragraphs), defending himself against the severe reflections

made in Mr. Tayler's pamphlet on his administration of the affairs of the Patna Division. On the following 17th March Sir F. Halliday recorded a Minute (123 paragraphs) on Mr. Tayler's "Brief narrative &c." On the 3rd and 8th April 1858 Mr. Tayler wrote to the Government of Bengal two letters of 303 and 53 paragraphs, remonstrating against Mr. Samuels' letter of the 29th January, and against the publication of the latter by the Lieutenant-Governor in a Blue-book, and at his request they were laid before the Government of India, who forwarded them to the Court of Directors. Mr. Tayler having appealed to the Government in England against the Government of India's decision, the Court of Directors gave their judgment (against him) on the 11th August 1858. Mr. Tayler was subsequently appointed Judge of Mymensingh, but at the instance of the Government of India (21st January 1859) was suspended, for the second time, by the Lieutenant-Governor, for his "insufferably offensive conduct," and resigned the service on the 29th March 1859. Mr. Tayler applied to every Secretary of State in succession from 1857 to 1888 for a reconsideration of his case, for a public and suitable recognition of his services as Commissioner of Patna in 1857, for a cancellation of the condemnation passed on him, for honorary distinction, for pecuniary compensation, and for redress of his alleged wrongs. In every instance the appeal was rejected, after consideration. He induced the House of Commons to hear his case in 1888, and after debate it was rejected by an overwhelming majority, only 22 members voting for it ; and there it ended.

The length of his episcopacy, his great age, and his general Death of Bishop Wilson. personality combined to give the Right Reverend Daniel Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, a position of great eminence : and when he died on the 2nd January 1858, it was felt that a leader of men had passed away. Some space must be devoted to one who was so long a conspicuous character in Bengal. He was born on 2nd July 1778, his father being a silk-manufacturer in Spitalfields. He was apprenticed to his uncle in business ; in his eighteenth year he felt a call to religion, which resulted in his being entered at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford. After taking his degree he became successively Curate of Chobham, Surrey, Tutor of St. Edmund's Hall, 1804-12, Assistant and Incumbent of St. John's Church, Bedford Row,

London, 1809-1823, Vicar of Islington, 1823-32. The Bishopric of Calcutta was offered to him in March 1832, and early in November he arrived in Calcutta, in the 55th year of his age. He found many matters that required immediate settlement in connection with the religious and charitable institutions of the Presidency, and entered on his work with a zeal and energy which he never relaxed. His tours throughout India and Ceylon were long and repeated: and extended moreover to the Straits, Singapur and Malacca. On one of these tours he left Bombay at the commencement of 1836 and marched up to Simla, arriving there on the 3rd June. On the 8th October 1839 he laid the foundation stone of St. Paul's Cathedral at Calcutta and consecrated it on the same day of the year 1847. He himself gave nearly one-third of the total amount of seven and a half *lakhs* subscribed towards it. His liberality was princely throughout his episcopate. It was apparently in 1849 that the Bishop's residence was transferred by him from Russell Street to Chowringhi. The caste question among native Christians in Madras, which was causing much trouble, he treated with a firm hand, insisting on its absolute abandonment. Besides dealing energetically with all Church matters, he found time to advocate Steam Communication with India. At one time he was described as the champion of Evangelicalism. In his charges he made some bold and uncompromising denunciations of Tractarianism. He dreaded theory, it was said, and felt that he must act, doing the work of the Church. His punctuality and business habits remained to the last. Lord Dalhousie spoke of him to Lord Canning as "the best man of business he had to do with in India." Numerous anecdotes testified to the originality of his character: he had a peculiar mannerism which amounted almost to eccentricity: and he allowed himself a directness of personal remark which in another speaker might have been termed rudeness. He had resolved to end his days in India. On the 4th January 1858 he was buried in the vault at the east end of the Cathedral.

While the Mutiny was still unsubdued, the House of Lords on the 16th March 1858 passed a unanimous Resolution, adding the name of Sir F. Halliday to a previous Resolution of the 8th February, in which they had accorded the thanks of that House to the Governor-General and

Thanks of Parliament and the Court of Directors.

others "for the energy and ability with which they have employed the resources at their command to suppress the widely-spread mutiny in Her Majesty's Indian Dominion." The House of Commons passed a similar vote of thanks to the Lieutenant-Governor on the same day. The Court of Directors and a General Court of the East India Company had on the 10th and 17th February respectively recorded Resolutions in the same terms. These were all officially communicated through the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker, the Court, and the Governor-General to Sir F. Halliday. Again on the 4th August 1858, the Court of Directors, in a despatch reviewing the narratives of the Lieutenant-Governor from the revolt of the troops at Segowlie and Dinapore in July to the close of 1857, thus expressed their opinions on some of the principal occurrences of the mutiny in Bengal, which have been mentioned in Sir F. Halliday's Minute : "We are glad to observe that the admirable conduct of Mr. A. Money and Mr. Hollings in remaining at Gaya, notwithstanding the order of the Commissioner, thereby saving the Government Treasury, and for the time preserving the peace of the district, has been rewarded by promotion to a higher office in the case of Mr. Money, and by an increase of salary in that of Mr. Hollings, who had already reached the highest grade in that branch of the Uncovenanted Service to which he is attached.

"We have perused with the greatest interest Mr. Wake's account of the gallant defence at Arrah by the European residents and 50 Sikhs of Captain Rattray's Corps against three revolted Regiments of Native Infantry. We have already, in our Despatch in this Department, No. 155, dated 16th December 1857, adverted to the conduct of Mr. Boyle, the Engineer in the service of the East Indian Railway Company, and it is only because we have called for a list of those Civilians who have particularly distinguished themselves during the recent disturbances, that we abstain from more prominently noticing him on the present occasion, together with the gallant conduct of Mr. Wake, and those who shared with him in the remarkable defence which forms the subject of his report. We entirely approve of the rewards conferred upon the small band of Sikhs, whose courage, endurance, and fidelity so greatly contributed to the safety of the Garrison ; and it is with the highest gratification that we have noticed the loyalty and discipline of the

recently-formed Corps to which these men belonged, and the important services it has rendered under its Commandant Captain Rattray, in protecting no inconsiderable portion of the Province of Bihar.

"On the appointment of Mr. Samuells to succeed Mr. Tayler, Munshi Amir Ali was appointed to be Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Patna, and Deputy Magistrate under Act XV. of 1843, in all the districts of the Patna division.

"This last appointment, as observed by the Lieutenant-Governor,

"I may perhaps be allowed here to state that Amir Ali's appointment was, in the opinion of those best able to judge and appreciate the tone of Patna native society, a highly politic, popular and useful measure. The better classes of natives in this city have throughout these evil times displayed nothing but loyalty and good will to the British Government. The appointment of Amir Ali, a native of the province, and known to each and all, either as personal legal adviser, or a successful pleader in the highest Court of Judicature, to assist the Commissioner in his early communications with those classes, was precisely what was required to allay fears which were daily gaining ground and strength; fears that the Government was bent on general and indiscriminate vengeance for the atrocities committed in other parts of India. There is no calculating what might have been the danger or mischief of a spread of the belief among a credulous and timid population. The fear was at once allayed by Amir Ali's advent, and not only has the real justice of the Government been made apparent to the native mind, but its vast power and resources, not half understood or believed by the people, were made real and credible to all.

"has been a good deal cavilled at;" we are of opinion however that the Lieutenant-Governor has shewn good and sufficient reason for it, and the excellent service rendered by Munshi Amir Ali is the best justification of the Government in selecting him for the important office which he held at Patna. The marginal extract from the letter of the late Acting Commissioner Mr. Farquharson to the Commissioner dated 23rd October 1857, contains very strong evidence as to the sound policy of the measure.

"The arduous task of preserving order in the district of Saran was committed to Kazi Ramzan Ali, who was authorised by the Commissioner to exercise magisterial powers until the return of the constituted authorities. The Kazi was left in charge of the district for a fortnight, and the Commissioner reports that, during that period, he "faithfully performed the duties allotted to him, and under very trying circumstances continued to preserve order and tranquillity." We trust you at once conferred on the Kazi some substantial mark of your approbation of services of so devoted a character at a very critical juncture. Eminent services have also been rendered by many others of our native subjects possessing authority and influence among their countrymen. Of these we may specially notice the

Maharaja of Bettia and Shah Kabiruddin Ahmad of Sasaram in the Shahabad district, for their zealous exertions from the commencement of the disturbances ; the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, for the assistance rendered by him on the occasion of the disarming of the city of Murshidabad ; and Parganait Jagat Pal Sing, of whom the Lieutenant-Governor remarks that, in "arresting the progress of the mutineers of the 8th Native Infantry at Pittoria, he in all human probability saved the lives of the whole of the European Officers on their retreat from Ranchi to Hazaribagh". You have directed the thanks of the Government to be communicated to the above named persons, and of this we approve. We are glad to observe however, that the Lieutenant-Governor has directed the proper local authorities within his jurisdiction to furnish a list of all such persons as may have been known to have distinguished themselves in the service or for the benefit of the British Government from the commencement of the present troubles, and we suggest for your consideration, whether, on the close of the disturbances and when the list shall be complete, it would not be a measure as well of policy as of justice, to recognize in a more public, and where circumstances render it appropriate, a more substantial manner than has yet been done, such services as those to which we have referred.

"About the middle of September, Mr. J. R. Ward, Commissioner for the suppression of *Dacoity*, a very active and intelligent officer, was appointed Superintendent of carriage and supplies for troops marching in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and was furnished by the Local Government with very full instructions as to the nature and extent of his duties. In the discharge of those duties the Superintendent was warmly supported by the Government, and the success which attended the arrangements made by Mr. Ward and his assistants, for procuring supplies for the troops, is sufficiently manifest from the fact that a force of 20,000 men (almost wholly Europeans) "passed along the Grand Trunk Road from Raniganj to Benares, a distance of nearly 300 miles, and had been so well satisfied with the arrangements made for their supplies, that not a dozen complaints of any sort had been preferred, and some of these of the most trivial character," notwithstanding that every facility for preferring complaints was afforded. We appreciate most highly the excellent services performed by Mr. Ward, and we lament deeply

that an illness, which compelled that Officer to relinquish his post, has since terminated fatally.

"At para 8 of our despatch No. 155, dated 16th December last, we have expressed our approval of your application to the Legislature for an Act to regulate the importation, manufacture, and sale of arms, and the right to keep and use them. We have since received a copy of the Act which was passed on the 11th September 1857, and is to continue in force for a period of two years from the date of its enactment. Exception has been taken to this Act as being too general in its provisions, embracing all classes of persons, and confounding "the loyal with murderers, mutineers, and rebels." We cannot admit the force of this objection. We concur with you that no one class could have been excepted in express terms from all liability to the provisions of the Act, without doing injustice to others equally well affected towards the Government, and we approve of your having framed the Act in general terms, so as to render it applicable to all classes of the community, leaving it to the executive to discriminate as to the exceptions to be made when carrying its provisions into execution. A full power of exemption, in respect to such persons as it may think fit, is given to the Government, and, as observed by the Vice-President when introducing the Bill into the Legislative Council, the operation of the exemption clause will be extended "to all Europeans, East Indians, many educated native gentlemen, the Parsi gentry and community, and other sections of the general community, of whose loyalty no doubt can exist."

"We cannot conclude our review of the proceedings which have now come under our consideration without expressing the high sense we entertain of the manner in which the Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces has discharged the duties of his office, during an eventful period. We may instance in particular his prompt and energetic measures in providing and superintending an effective agency for the transport of troops, in repressing alarm in the Presidency and adjacent districts, in meeting pressing emergencies in scenes of actual or threatened disturbance, and in maintaining order in many parts of the extensive territories subject to his authority. The thanks of Parliament and of the Court of Proprietors will ere this have been conveyed to Mr. Halliday, and to these we would add our

own acknowledgments for the important services which he has rendered.'

A brief notice is required of the "Act for the better Government of India," 21 and 22 Vic. c. 106 (1858), which, Assumption of the Government by the Crown. after the Mutinies, enacted that the territories previously in the possession and under the Government of the East India Company should henceforth be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty, and vested in Her Majesty all the territories and powers of the Company. It was passed on the 2nd of August 1858, and took effect thirty days after. It specially affected the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, in this respect, that Section 29 provided that "the appointments of the Lieutenant-Governors of provinces or territories shall be made by the Governor-General of India, subject to the approbation of Her Majesty; and all such appointments shall be subject to the qualifications now by law affecting such offices respectively." A Proclamation was accordingly, under Her Majesty's command, issued from Allahabad on the 1st November 1858 by the Governor-General, to the Princes, Chiefs and People of India, to notify the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown. This Proclamation, as an important event in the annals of Bengal, is reproduced here, as follows:—

VICTORIA,

By The Grace of God, of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies Thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the faith.

Whereas, for diverse weighty reasons, We have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon Ourselves the Government of the Territories in India heretofore administered in trust for Us by the Honourable East India Company :

Now, theretofore, We do by these Presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, We have taken upon Ourselves the said Government; and We hereby call upon all Our Subjects within the said Territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom We may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the Government of our said Territories in Our name and on Our behalf :

And We, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability and judgment of Our right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Charles John Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be Our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over Our said Territories, and to administer the Government thereof in Our name, and generally to act in Our name and on Our behalf, subject to such Orders and Regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State :

And we do hereby confirm in their several Offices, Civil and Military, all persons now employed in the Service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to Our future pleasure, and to such Laws and Regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and We look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of Our present territorial Possessions, and while We will permit no aggression upon Our Dominions or Our Rights to be attempted with impunity, We shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the Rights, Dignity, and Honor of Native Princes as Our own; and We desire that they, as well as Our own Subjects, should enjoy that Prosperity and that social Advancement which can only be secured by internal Peace and good Government.

We hold Ourselves bound to the Natives of Our Indian Territories by the same Obligations of Duty which bind Us to all our other subjects; and those Obligations, by the Blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of Religion, we disclaim alike the Right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our Subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favored, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their Religious Faith or Observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the Religious Belief or Worship of any of Our Subjects, on pain of Our highest Displeasure.

And it is Our further will that, so far as may be, Our Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in

our Service, the Duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the Natives of India regard the Lands inherited by them from their Ancestors ; and We desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State : and We will that generally, in framing and administering the Law, due regard be paid to the ancient Rights, Usages, and Customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious Men, who have deceived their Countrymen by false reports, and led them into open Rebellion. Our Power has been shown by the suppression of that Rebellion in the field ; We desire to show Our Mercy, by pardoning the Offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of Duty.

Already in one Province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the Pacification of Our Indian Dominions, Our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of Pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy Disturbances, have been guilty of Offences against our Government, and has declared the Punishment which will be inflicted on those whose Crimes place them beyond the reach of Forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of Our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows :—

Our Clemency will be extended to all Offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the Murder of British Subjects. With regard to such, the demands of Justice forbid the exercise of Mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as Leaders or Instigators in Revolt, their Lives alone can be guaranteed ; but, in apportioning the Penalty due to such Persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their Allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose Crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing Men.

To all others in arms against the Government, We hereby promise unconditional Pardon, Amnesty, and Oblivion of all offence against Ourselves, Our Crown and Dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is Our Royal Pleasure that these terms of Grace and Amnesty

should be extended to all those who comply with their Conditions before the first day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal Tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest Desire to stimulate the peaceful Industry of INDIA, to promote Works of Public Utility and Improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all Our Subjects resident therein. In their Prosperity will be Our Strength ; in their Contentment, Our Security ; and, in their Gratitude, Our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant to Us, and to those in authority under Us, Strength to carry out these Our Wishes for the good of Our People.

This Proclamation was read by the Home Secretary from the platform at the top of the staircase on the North side of Government House, in the presence of Sir J. P. Grant, (then President of the Council), the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, &c., &c., with appropriate ceremonial. In the evening there was a general illumination of the town of Calcutta and of the ships in the port. The Governor-General issued his own Proclamation at the same date from Allahabad, as follows :—

Her Majesty the Queen having declared that it is Her gracious Pleasure to take upon Herself the Government of the British Territories in India, the Viceroy and Governor-General hereby notifies that from this Day all Acts of the Government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone.

From this Day all Men of every Race and Class who under the administration of the Honourable East India Company have joined to uphold the Honour and Power of England will be the Servants of the Queen alone.

The Governor-General summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious Will and Pleasure of the Queen, as set forth in Her Royal Proclamation.

From the many Millions of Her Majesty's Native Subjects in India, the Governor-General will now and at all times exact a loyal Obedience to the Call which, in words full of Benevolence and Mercy, their Sovereign has made upon their Allegiance and Faithfulness.

Her Majesty's Proclamation was received throughout British India and by the Native Princes with the greatest loyalty : and in these demonstrations Her Majesty's Government saw "abundant promise of a peaceful and a prosperous future."

The last days of Sir F. Halliday's term of office were occupied in the passing of laws with which he had been long of the great Land Acts of 1859. and closely concerned as Lieutenant-Governor, though the law (the Statute 16 and 17 Vic. c. 95) of 1853 did not name him as a Member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council. So important a subject as the Recovery of Rent requires more than a passing reference. Act X of 1859 (*to amend the law relating to the recovery of Rent in the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal*)—an Act which has been called the Magna Charta of the *raiyat*—received the Governor-General's assent on the 29th of April 1859. Mr. E. Currie, c. s. was the 'author of the measure', and had charge of it in the Legislative Council, as the representative Member for Bengal. Its object was to reform the whole of the existing system for the recovery of rents and the adjudication of questions connected therewith in Bengal. The Act defined and settled several important questions connected with the relative rights of landlord and tenant, of which a definition and settlement had long been considered desirable and necessary. Prior to the passing of the Act, the law on this subject was so confused and imperfect, and was scattered through such a vast number of Regulations and Acts, that a revision and consolidation of it was admitted to be a matter of urgent necessity. Landholders were empowered to enforce payment of their rents by distress of the property of defaulters and by preferring summary suits before the Collector. The Collector was also authorized to try summarily suits brought by under-tenants, to contest the demand of distrainers, and suits for damages for illegal distress. *Raiyats* were entitled to receive *pattas* for the lands cultivated by them, and to have their rates of rent adjusted on certain defined principles, penalties being prescribed for the exactation of any excess above the legal rate of rent or of any unauthorized cess. The law further recognized the right of all resident *raiyats* to the occupancy of the lands cultivated by them, so long as they paid the established rent.

But the remedy in all these cases, in the Lower Provinces at least, was either by regular suit in the Civil Courts, which to poor suitors, it was thought, was a very inadequate remedy; or by summary suits before Collectors in some of the several descriptions of cases between landlord and tenant. Section XX, Regulation VII of

1822, indeed, empowered the Executive Government to invest Collectors with jurisdiction in all those cases. But such jurisdiction had only been given to Collectors in the North-Western Provinces. The law relating to the right of *raiayats* to receive, from those to whom they paid rent, *pattas* or writings containing a statement of the quantity of land held, the annual rent of the land, and the conditions of the holding ; also, the law relating to the adjustment of rates of rent, and the occupancy of land, and to the prevention of illegal exaction and extortion in connection with demands for rent, were re-enacted in a concise and distinct form in this Act. In the spirit, though not within the letter, of the previous law, the new Act also declared landholders to be entitled to receive from their *raiayats* *kabulyats* or counterparts of the written engagements. It was deemed just that, when a *raiyat* had a right to demand a *patta*, the landlord should have a right to demand a *kabulyat*. It was for the interest of the *raiyat* himself that written engagements should be exchanged in all cases ; and as, in a later part of the Act, distressment was allowed only when the distrainer held a *kabulyat*, it became necessary to provide landlords with the means of enforcing the delivery of such documents. The Act provided a Code of Procedure for the trial of suits between landlord and tenants. It was much discussed whether the adjudication of such suits should be by the ordinary Civil Courts or by the Collector's Courts. Messrs. Mills and Harington, in their Code of Civil Procedure, recommended that the Revenue Officers should have jurisdiction in all such cases ; and they proposed that, in preference to the existing practice of a summary decision by the Collector, subject to a re-trial of the same matter by regular suit in the Civil Court, "the trial before the Revenue Court should constitute the original suit, in like manner as if the case had been brought as a regular Civil action, and that the summary decision passed in such cases shall be open to a regular appeal on the merits to the *zillâ* Appeal Court."

This principle was adopted in Act X of 1859. The jurisdiction in all such cases was given to Collectors and certain of their Deputies and Assistants. It was specially provided that no Deputy Collector should exercise judicial powers under the Act if entrusted with any police functions. The Collector's judgment was to be final, if the amount sued for did not exceed Rs. 100. In all other

suits an appeal to the *zilla* Judge was provided, unless the amount or value in dispute exceeded Rs. 5,000, in which case the appeal was to lie to the *Sadar* Court. Lastly, the Act greatly restricted, and at the same time imposed more effective checks on, the power of distressment vested in landholders—a power which appeared to have been grievously abused.

At the same time, Act XI of 1859 (*to improve the law relating to sales of land for arrears of Revenue in the Lower Provinces under the Bengal Presidency*), which had been introduced as a Bill so long before as December 1855, was passed on the 30th April by Sir J. P. Grant who, as Member of Council, was in charge of it; and it remains in force until the present time. The first important amendment which it effected in the former law was, by discontinuing the practice of obtaining the previous sanction of the Board of Revenue to sales of estates for arrears of Revenue or other demands of Government in the Province of Cuttack, to assimilate the system of collection in Cuttack to the system of collection in Bengal, where the districts are permanently settled, and where the process of sale is the only process; whereas, in the Provinces not permanently settled, the process of sale was the last of several coercive measures resorted to for the collection of the revenue.

The Act gave a mortgagee who might deposit money, in order to save the estate mortgaged to him from sale (to the extinction of his lien), a further mortgage or lien upon the estate to the extent of the money so deposited by him.

Another important alteration in the law was to enable sharers of joint estates held in common tenancy, and holders of specific portions of the land of an entire estate, to acquire the privilege of protecting their shares by paying up their own portion of the Government revenue, whether the other sharers paid up their portion or not. The Act provided that, when a recorded sharer desired to pay his portion of the Government revenue separately, he might submit to the Collector a written application, specifying the nature and extent of his interest in the estate. The Collector was then to cause the application to be published, and if, within six weeks from the date of publication, no objection was made by any other recorded sharer, the Collector would open a separate account with the applicant, and credit separately to his share all payments made by him on account

thereof. If any recorded proprietor objected to the application, the Collector was to refer the parties to the Civil Court, and suspend proceedings until the question at issue was judicially determined. The Act at the same time provided that, where the highest offer for a share exposed to sale for arrears of revenue was not equal to the amount due upon it, the Collector must stop the sale, and declare that the entire estate would be put up to sale for arrears of revenue, unless the other sharers, within 10 days, purchased the defaulter's share by paying to Government the whole amount due upon it.

The Act enabled a proprietor of an estate, by the deposit of money or Government securities, to preserve his estate, from all risk of sale by reason of any accident or neglect on the part of an agent. It remedied a defect in that part of the old law which provided that, in case of repeated default, the difference between the sum bid by each defaulting bidder and the actual sale price should be levied and credited to the former proprietor, whereas all that he was entitled to was the difference between the highest bid and the actual sale price.

The Act made provision for giving the purchaser at an auction-sale possession of his purchase; it restricted the annulment of a sale for irregularity to those cases only in which the irregularity had occasioned injury to the proprietor; and rendered compulsory, under penalty of forfeiture of all benefit therefrom, the execution of a final decree of a Civil Court annulling a sale, as well as the repayment, with interest, by the party obtaining execution, of any surplus purchase-money paid away by order of a Civil Court, within 6 months from the date of such final decree.

But the most important alteration in the law which the Act effected was by enforcing the registration of under-tenures created subsequently to the Permanent Settlement. The Bill, as introduced, proposed to render compulsory the registration of all under-tenures, those created before as well as those created after the Permanent Settlement. It was very strongly urged, however, that in the case of ante-settlement tenures, which were already protected by the existing law, registration ought not to be made a condition of protection in case of any future sale of the estate, and in accordance with this view the Act provided that the registration of such tenures should be entirely at the option of the holder. With regard to post-settle-

ment tenures, several plans were proposed for protecting them. According to the plan adopted by the Act, there were to be two registers, one for common registry and the other for special registry. In the common register, tenures to the registration of which no objection was preferred after due notice were to be registered without inquiry, the effect of such registry being to protect the tenure in all cases, except the remote contingency of a purchase by Government. In the special register, tenures were to be registered after inquiry as to the sufficiency of the rent to secure the Government revenue. The effect of special registry would be to give absolute security in all circumstances. The registry might be common or special, according to the application of the holder of the tenure, and in cases of special registry all the expenses of the inquiry ordered to be made were to be paid by the applicant.

Lord Canning's final Minute, dated July 2nd 1859 "regarding the services of Civil Officers and others during the Mutiny and rebellion" dealt with all India, and, though it was not published until Sir F. Halliday had left India, extracts from it may well be given here with reference to him and other Bengal officers.

Lord Canning's
Minute on the
Mutiny services of
officers.

"The bloodshed, strife, and general disorganisation consequent upon the Mutiny of the Bengal army, which declared itself two years ago, are drawn to a close.

Here and there a few bands of turbulent and disaffected marauders still remain in arms ; but there is no unity among the enemies of the State, and, although the complete and universal security which prevailed before the out-break has not in all places returned, there is no part of the Queen's Indian possessions to which Civil Government has not been restored.

A day of solemn Thanksgiving for this happy result has been appointed.

This being so, it becomes my grateful duty to bring to the notice of Her Majesty's Secretary of State the names of those earnest, devoted men, by whose abilities, sound judgment, and unexampled labours, the Civil authority of the British Government has been upheld or re-established.

Although Civilians by profession, or holding for the time Civil offices, the duties which they have performed have been, for the most part, full of peril and toil.

Only some few of them have been called on occasionally to take part in the operations of the army, and have thereby had the satisfaction of seeing honor done to their names in the Gazettes of the day ; but there are others who have been distinguished by conduct in front of an enemy which would make any army proud of them.

They have organised levies and led them ; defended stations ; kept in check large disaffected communities ; re-assured the wavering, and given confidence to the loyal.

Many of them have, in the service of the State, carried their lives in their hands for months together.

The position has been such as to try not only their physical courage, but the judgment, intelligence and self-reliance of each individual, and to keep these qualities unceasingly on the strain.

The most anxious part of their long task is now at an end, and I confidently claim for them from Her Majesty's Government the same respect, admiration and gratitude as have been so deservedly bestowed upon their fellow-labourers of the army.

The return which accompanies this Minute shews some of the services of those who have been most actively engaged, but very briefly and imperfectly.

I will speak first of Bengal.

The value of the services rendered by the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Halliday, is as well known to the Home Government as to myself. With a charge of enormous extent and responsibility, and called upon to take a large share of the work by which troops and munitions of war were forwarded from Calcutta to other Local Governments, Mr. Halliday was the right hand of the Government of India for many months. The efficient aid given by Mr. Halliday to the Government, the watchfulness and sound judgment which marked his advice in regard to affairs within his own jurisdiction, and the promptitude and completeness with which he carried out all the precautionary and defensive measures sanctioned by the Government of India, effectually checked the spread of rebellion in Bengal.

And although in this Province the people are, for the most part, less warlike and turbulent than those of Upper India, there are in it many dangerous centres of fanaticism and many wide, and not easily accessible tracts where an outburst of rebellion would have sorely crippled the small means at the disposal of Government, and where peace was to be maintained more by good management than by show of force.

As the head of the Government, I feel myself deeply indebted to Mr. Halliday for his most useful aid, and I confidently trust that the Secretary of State will not be forgetful of his service.

Of the officers of the Bengal Government who have been brought to notice by Mr. Halliday, I wish to recommend to the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government, Mr. G. Yule, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur ; Mr. A. Money, Magistrate of Shahabad and Gaya, whose good service has already attracted the notice of the Home Government ; Mr. S. Wauchope, Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, who had a most irksome and difficult post, and has discharged the duties fearlessly and excellently : Mr. E. A. Samuells, the late Commissioner of Patna ; and Mr. H. C. Wake, Magistrate of Shahabad.

The following officers have also well deserved the notice of Her Majesty's Government :—Mr. W. J. Allen, Member of the Board of Revenue, on deputation at Cherra-Punji : Mr. G. F. Cockburn, Commissioner of Cuttack ; Mr. R. L. Mangles, Assistant in Shahabad ; Mr. E. Jackson, the Superintendent of supplies on the Trunk road ; Mr. C. Hollings, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent at Gaya ; Mr. F. B. Drummond, Magistrate of Purnea ; Mr. E. M'cDonnel, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent in Saran ; Mr. E. Baker, Deputy Magistrate of Sasaram ; Mr. C. Carnac, Magistrate of Dacca ; Mr. W. F. McDonell, Magistrate of Saran, attached to Sir E. Lugard's column ; Mr. J. D. Gordon, Assistant Magistrate of Jalpaiguri ; Mr. W. Brodhurst, Magistrate of Shahabad ; Mr. Garstin, Deputy Magistrate of Sasaram ; Mr. Boyle, Mr. R. de Courcy, Mr. J. Cockburn, and Mr. J. Wemyss, gentlemen not connected with the Government but who have given to it valuable aid ; and Mr. J. Todhunter and Mr. W. M'Intyre, both of the Telegraph Department.

In respect of military officers in Civil employ, I have to call to notice the excellent services of Captain Dalton, Commissioner of Chota Nagpur ; of Lieutenant J. Graham, Assistant Commissioner in Palamau ; of Lieutenant Birch, Assistant Commissioner of Chota Nagpur ; Lieutenant R. Stuart, Superintendent of Cachar ; and Lieutenant R. Stanton, Executive Engineer of the Grand Trunk Road at Shergati.

Of the value of the assistance received from Mr. A. R. Young, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Mr. Halliday has spoken forcibly. I can add nothing to what he said on this head, but I have pleasure in confirming it."

On the eve of his departure, an address was presented to the retiring Lieutenant-Governor at Belvedere by a number of representative native gentlemen of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa : it was couched in general terms commendatory of his administration. Sir F. Halliday replied as follows :—

"I thank you for the address which you have presented to me ; I

thank you that, now at the close of my public career, when power and patronage are falling from my hands and no one has anything to gain or lose from my good or ill will, you have come forward to bear weighty and valuable testimony, that, during my long service in India, you believe me to have had constantly in view the comfort and happiness of the people of this country, and to have striven to the best of my knowledge and ability, earnestly, zealously, and faithfully to promote their moral and material welfare. Such testimony coming at one and the same time from numerous persons of great knowledge and experience and of different creeds and ranks and walks of life in many and various parts of the wide territory over which I have exercised authority, cannot but be gratifying to me, and I accept it with as much pride as pleasure.

"However anxiously I may have labored, I am far from imagining that I have succeeded in every effort for the benefit of this country ; but I am encouraged by the favorable sentiments expressed in this address, to look back with satisfaction, more than I have hitherto ventured to allow myself, on some things in which I have succeeded, and to some great and beneficial measures in which I have been privileged to bear a not insignificant part.

"You know that it is rarely given to Governments, least of all perhaps to the Governments of this country, to accomplish improvements without great discussions, great differences, great deliberation, and consequently great delay. The measure which is completed to-day and gratifies you by its fair promise of wide-spreading benefit, arose not, you may be sure, from a proposition of yesterday, but it is the fruit of seeds sown by some now probably unknown hand many long years ago. The five years allowed in the country as the ordinary limit of an administration may suffice indeed to sow such seeds and to labour anxiously in their cultivation, but the harvest is rarely reaped by the hands which sowed them ; and he is fortunate in such a position as mine who shall see his own measures in mature operation before his very name shall have passed away from remembrance for ever. But though this lot has largely fallen on me, I may yet hope to hear my name coupled hereafter with some important improvements.

"If your rural and stipendiary police, from being a curse to the country, shall hereafter become a blessing, the day may come when you will remember that for 20 years I laboured incessantly towards that end ; that I was not among the least prominent or the least vigorous denouncers of the abuses of the system, that I framed plans for its improvement and that I actually carried into first operation some momentous changes towards that purpose which cannot fail to produce large benefit at no distant day.

"If your Civil Courts should come to be cleared of the complicated difficulties, expenses and delays which now beset them, and a simpler, cheaper and more effective form of administering justice be at length promised to your wearied expectation, you may perhaps call to mind that I have never failed here or in England to contend for this great amelioration, that I have borne no inconsiderable share in the discussions regarding it, and that I have myself commenced the introduction of such reforms in places where I had the power to act on my own authority and was free to follow my own convictions.

"If again, among many other such instances to which I will not weary you by alluding, the law of landlord and tenant is at last about to assume a juster and healthier aspect than it has ever done since the days of the Permanent Settlement, it will be known at some future time, that I first gave the impulse, which has led, under Mr. Currie's admirable management, to the recent valuable enactment, and that, if the *raiyat*, after long years of hopeless oppression, has now a prospect of coming freedom and independence, he owes that prospect in some degree to my exertions.

"I cannot look at the names appended to this address without observing that they are those of men, who, at a season of difficulty and disaster when many fell away from their allegiance, remained eminently, constantly and honorably faithful to the British Crown and Dominion, and, by that constancy, exhibited in positions of influence and authority, largely helped to maintain a whole territory loyal and faithful in the midst of doubt, panic and danger. Thus have you shown far more forcibly than could be expressed by any words your contentment with the Government under which you live, and thus have you taught me to value your approbation, as of men who, when they applaud the acts of those in authority over them, have proved in practice that their appreciation is real and effective.

"You may be assured that the deep interest I have ever felt for this country will not depart from my mind when I quit its shores and that, whatever may be my future lot in life, I shall never cease to think with affectionate remembrance of those who, for so many years, were to me as fellow-countrymen; and shall omit no opportunity that may be offered me of promoting by speech or action their true welfare and prosperity."

Sir F. Halliday was a musician of unusual capacity as an amateur, and used to perform on the Contra Basso.
Sir F. Halliday as musician. He gave several concerts at Belvedere, and performed at them himself. He kept up the practice of his favourite instrument

after he had retired to England, and his great stature made him a conspicuous figure in many an orchestra at the Crystal Palace and elsewhere. An old Calcutta newspaper in a review of "*Court Life in India*" contained the following passage, which may be quoted, notwithstanding its style:—"These were the days (1854-59) when Frederick Halliday was King of Bengal, and ruled and kept a court that reminded people of what they had read of that good old King René of Provence. Sir Frederick was a devoted lover of music, and himself an accomplished instrumentalist. "*Big Fiddle*" was the polite term by which the *Englishman* used to designate him, and on that instrument he assuredly had few amateur equals. The concert nights at Belvedere were a great treat. Sir Frederick had got together a powerful orchestra, composed of Secretaries, Under-Secretaries, Members of the Board, clerks, brokers, organists &c., who rendered the music of the masters in a style that would not have disgraced the best genius a *conservatoire* has ever turned out." It so happened that there was at that time a remarkable wealth of musical talent in Calcutta, which met with encouragement at Belvedere.

Before relinquishing charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship to his successor on the 1st May 1859, Sir F. Halliday had received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for the energy, resolution, and administrative ability which he displayed as Lieutenant-Governor during the K. C. B. Mutiny. He was created a (Civil) Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath in May 1860 for his services to the State. He was appointed a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State's Council Secretary of State for India on the 30th September 1868, and held the position until the 31st December 1886. As he was appointed Member of Council under the Statute (21 and 22 Vic. c. 106) of 1858 'during good behaviour', his appointment did not come under the operation of the Statute (32 and 33 Vic. c. 97) of 1869, which limited the tenure of that office ordinarily to 10 years, with a possibility of reappointment 'for special reasons of public advantage' for a further term of 5 years.

Sir F. Halliday married in 1834 Eliza, daughter of General Paul Macgregor, E. I. C. S., (she died 1886), and had a numerous family. Their eldest son was Frederick Mytton Halliday, of the

Bengal Civil Service from 1856 to 1891, Commissioner of Patna, Member of the Board of Revenue and of the Governor-General's Legislative Council.

While these volumes were in preparation in 1900, I had the privilege of meeting Sir F. Halliday, then in his 94th year, and to no one have I been more indebted for sound advice and kindly encouragement. With his faculties and memory unimpaired by age, and with his unique experience, no one person could have a greater knowledge of the history of Bengal, as a whole, than the first Lieutenant-Governor.

APPENDIX.*

THE MUTINIES AS THEY AFFECTED THE LOWER PROVINCES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, 1858.

DURING the progress of the late mutinies, and the all-engrossing events which have characterised their progress in Upper and Central India, it is not unnatural that the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar, which have been comparatively less disturbed, should have attracted less notice.

It cannot, however, be supposed that these great Provinces, connected in so many ways with the more disturbed districts, inhabited partly by a people cognate in manners, language, sympathies, and race with those of the North-Western Provinces—partly by tribes of ignorant and unenlightened savages, and everywhere, to some extent, occupied by portions of that army whose mutiny is at least the proximate cause of these disturbances,—can have altogether escaped the wide-spread contagion.

Accordingly, it will be found that they have been the theatre of events similar in character, if not in importance and degree, to those which have convulsed the Upper and Central Provinces.

The Province of Bihar has been most seriously and universally affected—the district of Shahabad was in some parts overrun by Koer Singh and the mutineers from Dinapore immediately after the outbreak at that station, and even then became the arena of more than one sanguinary combat, and of a most serious and disastrous repulse ;—whilst the station of Arrah, with its jail broken open, its convicts released, and its treasury plundered, was the scene of a defence and a relief which will bear comparison with any of the achievements called forth by the rebellion. Nor was this unhappy district to escape further troubles. After a period of comparative tranquillity, Koer Singh, defeated at Azimghar, himself wounded and dying, again crossed into Shahabad with what then seemed a broken and dispirited band of followers, without guns and with little ammunition ; but again, under the influence of an almost unaccountable panic, was a British detachment to suffer a disastrous repulse with the loss of guns and ammunition. And though these guns have since been recovered, though the rebel's force has been beaten with severe loss wherever it has been

* See Page 42.

encountered, yet reinforced not only from across the Ganges, but from the discontented sepoy population of the district itself—hopeless of ultimate success, and thereby rendered more desperate—aided by its position in a dense jungle and by the more than usual heat of the sun, and under the leadership of the bold and determined rebel Ummer Singh—it has hitherto held its ground and resisted all attempts at dislodgement. The three districts—Champaran, Saran and Tirhut—have all been more or less affected by the prevailing disturbances. In the first-named district took place the mutiny of Holmes Cavalry, attended with more than ordinary circumstances of barbarous treachery. The whole of the three stations were temporarily abandoned, whilst they were long seriously threatened by the occupation of Gorakpur under the usurping *chakildar*, Muhammad Hussain.

Tirhut also was at one time further menaced by the mutinous *sawars* from Jalpaiguri.

In these districts too, as in Shahabad, great uneasiness has been caused by the late successes of the rebels, and in Saran much mischief has been done by roving bands of plunderers, of which, however, the district is now free. In the district of Patna, the city, itself in close proximity to the mutineers of Dinapore, was long a ground of apprehension, and subsequently the scene of a serious riot attended with loss of life.

Gaya, in the district of Bihar, was, during the first outbreak, twice abandoned and once temporarily occupied by the rebels—the jail twice broken open, and the prisoners set at liberty, the treasure (a large amount) having been previously removed by the prompt energy of the Collector.

Again, during the second outbreak, was the jail for a third time broken open, and great part of the district ravaged and plundered, till the rebel bands were completely broken and dispersed by Captain Rattray and a part of his Battalion.

In the Division of Bhagalpur and the Sonthal *Parganas*, two separate mutinies occurred, the latter accompanied by savage murders.

The district of Purnea and the station itself were threatened by the Jalpaiguri and Dacca mutineers, but saved by the boldness, promptitude and energy of the Commissioner, aided by the gallantry of a band of Volunteers, together with 50 of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, and 100 seamen sent to their assistance, when it became apparent that no military aid could be expected from the Supreme Government.

In Chota Nagpur the Ramghar Battalion mutinied, various stations were abandoned, the prisoners were released, the treasures plundered, and, as might naturally be expected, the savage and ignorant inhabitants

deceived into supposing, from the partial anarchy prevailing, that all Government was at end, rallied round the feudal Chiefs, in many instances probably seeking an opportunity of avenging old grudges, and renewing old tribe feuds, rather than with any hope or serious intention of resisting the Government. A contagious feeling of discontent nevertheless spread into Palamau, Sambalpur, and the borders of Cuttack.

In the Rajshahi Division there was a constant sense of apprehension, first on account of the suspected native troops at Jalpaiguri (the Cavalry portion of which eventually mutinied), and afterwards because of the threatened approach of the mutineers from Dacca. The stations of Dinajpur and Rangpur were saved from probable attack only by the despatch of bodies of sailors from Calcutta.

In the Nadia Division, Berhampore, garrisoned by native troops, both cavalry and infantry, was rescued from threatened danger, first by the rapid despatch of European troops by land and by steamer, and secondly, by the prompt and well-conceived measures for disarming the native garrison. An uneasy feeling meanwhile extended itself through Krishnagar, Jessore and the whole Division.

In the Burdwan Division, bordering on Chota Nagpur, the Pachete *samindar* was in a state of semi-rebellion.

To the eastward, in the Dacca division, the city of Dacca became the scene of a mutiny of a large native detachment, not put down without considerable loss of life, and was saved by the presence of a party of European sailors previously stationed there.

Chittagong was the theatre of a serious mutiny, resulting in the release of the convicts, the plunder of the treasury, and the escape of the mutineers through Tippera and its jungles into the Sylhet and Cachar districts, where, however, owing partly to the despatch of a body of European troops, and partly to the gallantry and loyalty of the Sylhet Light Infantry and the activity and prudence of the officers, civil and military, they are supposed to have perished to a man; but this was not effected without a loss on our side of an European officer and several men of the Battalion.

In Assam the seeds of rebellion were sown which, but for the timely discovery of the plot, the arrest and subsequent execution of the chief conspirators, and the secret and timely despatch of European sailors, must have resulted in most serious consequences.

The districts immediately in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and even the Presidency itself, have been subject to periodical panics during the

whole progress of the rebellion—panics which, if in almost every instance groundless, cannot perhaps under the circumstances be considered altogether unnatural, and which were only allayed by a great show of precaution in the posting of troops.

It will thus be seen that hardly a single district under the Government of Bengal has escaped either actual danger or the serious apprehension of danger.

All the events above alluded to have already been recorded in the weekly narratives furnished by the Bengal Government; but I have thought it advisable to recapitulate continuously, but very briefly, the course which events have taken in each separate Division,—partly for the sake of placing them in a more collected shape, so that the circumstances which occurred in each separate Division may form a separate and continuous narrative, but more especially with a view to bring to prominent notice the very many excellent services which have been performed from time to time by the civil and military officers subordinate to the Bengal Government.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to remark that I have had no military resources at my own disposal, and that the urgent requirements of the North-West have prevented my receiving, except in a limited number of instances, and for limited periods, that assistance which, under a less pressing emergency, would have been no doubt readily accorded to me. I have, therefore, in the great majority of cases, been obliged to depend upon such resources as were locally available, or such as could (with the sanction of the Supreme Government, which has always been promptly accorded) be entertained for the occasion and sent from the Presidency.

Having premised thus much, I proceed with the separate narratives, commencing with the Bihar Division, which, from its position and importance, as well as from the fact that the earliest disturbances occurred there, naturally claims the first place.

BIHAR DIVISION.

It will readily be understood that on the outbreak of disaffection in the North-West, I became more than ordinarily anxious for the Province of Bihar, bordering as it does on the actively disturbed parts of the country, more than one of its districts supplying soldiers for the army, the town of Patna itself rightly or wrongly supposed to be the hot-bed of Muhammadan conspiracies, and of course at this time an object of more than usual suspicion, (which, however, I am bound to say that

events have not justified,*) an uneasy feeling on the subject of religion being reported to prevail ; nor looking to what had occurred at Meerut, Delhi and other up-country stations, was the presence of three native regiments at Dinapore calculated to allay any anxiety that might be felt. Added to all this was the importance of the Province, politically and financially, almost every district touching the Ganges, and the Grand Trunk road running through a large portion of the Division, so that any thing happening to endanger the safety of the Province would, at the same time, have cut off the two great highways to the Upper Provinces ; and again, in a financial point of view, its immense opium-cultivation, the quantity of manufactured and partially manufactured opium in the godowns at Patna, the large and scattered treasures almost unprotected, and, to crown all, except at Dinapore, where their presence was absolutely necessary as a check on the native regiments, not a European soldier throughout the whole Division.

Ordinarily precautionary measures were adopted, such as adding to the police force in Bihar, watching the ferries, guarding the frontiers of the disaffected districts, so far as means admitted, and removing the treasure from the stations of Chapra and Arrah to Patna.

Captain Rattray's police Battalion, stationed at Suri in the Burdwan Division, had volunteered for active service, and entreated to be led against the murderers of women and children. Six companies were now sent to Patna, and the whole Battalion has since done admirable service through the whole course of the rebellion.

For some time, though considerable apprehension prevailed in various parts of the Division, nothing noteworthy occurred. Attempts were made to tamper with the fidelity of the Sikhs and Najibs, arrests took place both in the city of Patna and in the Division, a few deserters were from time to time taken and executed, and a police *jamadar* named Waris Ali was seized on the 23rd of June, and, treasonable correspond-

* I cannot but notice here, with reference to what must now be considered the exaggerated opinions of danger to be apprehended from disaffection in the city of Patna itself, which were at that time entertained, that these opinions have been by no means justified by recent events. Whatever may have been the inducements and encouragements to rebellion in June and July 1857, have certainly not been lessened in June and July 1858, when the people of Patna have had before them the spectacle of the neighbouring district of Shahabad for weeks in occupation of the rebels, the Gaya district overrun by marauding parties, and Government *thanas* and private property destroyed, within a few miles of Patna itself, yet, with a small merely nominal garrison, the city has been as quiet as in a time of profound peace.

ence being found on him, he was executed on the 6th of July : he was said to be related to the royal family of Delhi. It was not till the night of 3rd of July that any overt act was committed, when the riot in Patna took place, which resulted in the death of Dr. Lyell. It seems certain that only a very inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants of Patna were cognizant of and concerned in this outbreak ; many arrests were, however, made, and many executions followed on what the Commissioner considered sufficient evidence. That Pir Ali, the Patna bookseller, was a party to, and a prime mover in the conspiracy, there can be no doubt. Letters were found in his house, indicating the existence of a conspiracy, but nothing that particularly pointed to Patna as the seat of disaffection. A Muhammadan *daroga*, Shaik Syad-ud-din, who particularly distinguished himself by his bravery against the rioters and was very severely wounded, was rewarded by Government.

This *daroga* subsequently died of his wounds, but his widow has been pensioned by Government. A *sawar*, named Pir Beg, who showed great courage on this occasion, has received a reward of Rs. 200.

The leader of the Wahabi sect of Muhammadans (who are a large and influential body in Patna and its neighbourhood) had been arrested on the 21st June and long remained under surveillance, the Commissioner (Mr. Tayler) holding that there were grounds of suspicion against them. Nothing, however, was at any time proved or even alleged against them, and indeed information, unhappily disregarded, of the intended outbreak, was given by one of the Wahabis, who from his age was exempted, when the other Chiefs were placed in confinement. Lutf Ali Khan, a rich and respectable banker of Patna, was arrested by the Commissioner and brought to trial on capital charges, of which he was fully acquitted.

So far all the other districts in the Division and Patna itself, after the outbreak, remained tranquil ; the Rajas of Bettia and Hatwa came forward with offers of assistance, placed men and elephants at the disposal of Government, and have given praiseworthy aid and support to Government during the whole progress of the rebellion, for which they have received suitable thanks.

About this time the Commissioner applied for and obtained permission to raise a body of military police, horse and foot, which he deemed it expedient to recruit from the lower castes, whilst Christians, European and Eurasian, were, if procurable, to be added to it.

Thus matters continued up to the 25th of July, on which day the mutiny of the three regiments at Dinapore was reported to the Commissioner of Patna.

The circumstances of this mutiny, the march of the mutineers out

of the station, the subsequent pursuit, and our disastrous defeat near Arrah, I shall pass over without remark, for these events, though matter of public notoriety, have not come under my official cognizance, nor is it within my province to allude to them except in as far they bear on the general affairs of the Division.* I pass on to the time when I find a large part of the district of Shahabad overrun by the rebels, and the station of Arrah actually in the occupation of Koer Singh and his mutinous followers. Here a small band of Europeans and Eurasians, with one native Deputy Collector (all of whose names are mentioned below†) together with a party of fifty of Rattray's Sikhs, were besieged by the enemy in a small bungalow which had been fortified by Mr. Boyle, the Railway engineer.

The story of the gallant little band and their relief by Major Eyre has been already told in the narrative furnished by the Bengal Government.

After the relief of Arrah, Major Eyre, with 150 Europeans and three guns, attacked and dispersed some thousands of the enemy, amongst whom were the three mutinous regiments from Dinapore, and subsequently reinforced by 200 men of H. M.'s 10th Foot, 100 fresh Sikhs from Rattray's Battalion, and the 45 from Arrah, under Wake, he attacked the enemy's entrenchments, defeated and followed them up to the walls of Jagdishpur, which was precipitately abandoned by the rebels, and afterwards destroyed by Major Eyre.

Thus was Shahabad cleared for a time of Koer Singh and his adherents.

Whilst these events were passing, the remainder of the Division had not been undisturbed. At Segowlie, in Champaran, almost contemporaneously with the outbreak at Dinapore, Major Holmes' regiment, the 12th Irregular Cavalry, mutinied, savagely murdered their officers, and then attacked the houses of Messrs. Lynch and McDonell, the

* I ought, however, to mention that Mr. R. L. Mangles, of the Civil Service and Mr. J. W. Garstin accompanied the pursuing force as volunteers. Both these gentlemen were wounded, the latter very severely. He has since received an appointment as Deputy Magistrate.

† Mr. A. Littledale, Judge ; Mr. Combe, officiating Collector ; Mr. H. C. Wake, Magistrate ; Mr. Colvin, Assistant Magistrate ; Dr. Halls, Civil Assistant Surgeon ; Mr. Field, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent ; Mr. Anderson, Assistant in the Opium Agency ; Mr. Boyle, District Engineer to the East Indian Railway Company ; Saiyad Azim-ud-din Hussain, Deputy Collector ; Mr. Dacosta, Munsif ; Mr. Godfrey, Head Master Arrah School ; Mr. Cock, officiating Head Clerk, Collectorate ; Mr. Tait, Secretary to Mr. Boyle ; Mr. Delpiero, Mr. Hoyle, and Mr. D'Souza, Railway Inspectors.

Deputy Magistrate and Sub-Deputy Opium Agent at Siwan, (who made their escape with difficulty), eventually marching towards Azimghar. On the 30th July martial law was proclaimed in the districts constituting the Patna Division, viz. Shahabad, Patna, Bihar, Saran, Champaran, Tirhut ; and on the 31st of the same month, the Governor-General of India in Council extended, to the whole of the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal, the operation of Act XVI. of 1857, which made temporary provision for the trial and punishment of heinous offences in certain districts.

It was on this date, July 31st, that Mr. Tayler issued his ill-advised order, directing the abandonment of all the out-stations in this Division. The question of this order has already been so fully discussed that it is necessary to do no more than allude to it here. That it was uncalled for, in almost all, if not in every instance, cannot be doubted, and so mischievous did I consider it, that I at once, with the concurrence of the Supreme Government, removed Mr. Tayler from his post of Commissioner and appointed Mr. Samuells in his room.

At Gaya, Messrs. Money and Hollings by the exercise of their own judgment and courage, saved the greater part of the treasure (*7 lakhs*) and conveyed it safely to Calcutta. On the 1st of August this station had been actually abandoned by all the officials ; but these two gentlemen, after proceeding about 3 miles, determined on returning. On the 2nd Mr. Money called in a detachment of 80 men of H. M.'s 64th Foot which was proceeding eastward, in order that, if necessary, he might send away the treasure under their escort. On the 3rd, having received intelligence that Koer Singh intended to despatch one of the mutinous regiments to Gaya, it was determined to abandon the station. The treasure was taken, and the party fell back on the Grand Trunk road. The *najibs*, emboldened probably by the first abandonment of the station, were by this time in a state of mutiny, and before Mr. Money had left the station the jail was broken open and the prisoners released, and he himself narrowly escaped capture, having only time to mount his horse and gallop off, leaving everything behind him. Subsequently a night attack was made on the party, resulting in the repulse of the assailants of whom several were killed. Eventually, as I have said, the treasure was brought safe to Calcutta. I had previously expressed my high approval of the conduct of Messrs. Money and Hollings in returning to the station, and had directed them, in case of their being compelled to retire, to fall back on the Trunk road in preference to retreating to Patna. It is as well to add here that Gaya was re-occupied on the 16th of August without opposition. Much damage had been done in the station, but all by the bad characters of the place and

the released convicts, who left as soon as the relieving force appeared. No other enemy approached the place, and but for Mr. Tayler's order its tranquillity need not have been disturbed. A special acknowledgment of the services of Messrs. Money and Hollings was made by Government, and Mr. Hollings, who was previously Sub-Deputy Opium Agent in the district, was made a Deputy Magistrate with an increase of allowances. Lieutenant Thomson, H. M.'s 64th regiment, with his detachment, received the thanks of Government for the special service rendered by them in escorting the treasure to a place of safety. After the re-occupation of Gaya a party of 50 *najibs*, under Mr. Colin Lindsay, was sent from thence to relieve the Tehta Sub-Deputy Opium Agency, reported to be besieged. In a village near Jahanabad, midway between Patna and Gaya, Mr. Lindsay attacked and defeated a body of 200 armed men, killing 7, wounding 5, and taking 9 prisoners. Mr. Lindsay burnt the village. The *najibs* behaved admirably. The *daroga* of Jahanabad, Ramphal Singh, lost a leg in the fight. He afterwards died of his wound, but his son has been pensioned by Government. Mr. Whitecombe, of the Railway Department, accompanied the expedition, and the acknowledgments of Government were returned to him for his conduct. Mr. Lindsay was also thanked for the spirited behaviour which he had displayed on this and other occasions; but he was recommended to be cautious in so serious a matter as burning villages, which may be occupied by armed men, without the consent or participation of the principal inhabitants. The *najibs*, who behaved so well here, were afterwards rewarded.

The out-stations of Shergati and Nawada had also been abandoned. Orders were given to the officers to return at once to their posts. Mr. Vincent, in charge of the out-station of Barh, happened to be at Patna when Mr. Tayler issued his order; he however, returned to his station without orders, and maintained peace and tranquillity in his district during the whole time of the disturbances.

Muzaffarpur was similarly abandoned in obedience to Mr. Tayler's order; but Mr. E. Lautour, Collector and officiating Magistrate, who had in vain attempted to persuade the residents to remain, after proceeding to Dinapore, returned immediately of his own accord to Muzaffarpur, where he found everything quiet. A small detachment of the 12th Irregulars had mutinied on the abandonment of the station, but had been repulsed by the *najibs* and some *barkandazes* in an attack on the treasury, the jail and the Government offices, and, after plundering the residences of the Judge and the Collector, had gone off accompanied by a *thana jamadar* and four or five of the new police *sawars*. At Motihari the Magistrate, Mr. Raikes, had left his station on the mutiny

of the 12th Irregulars at Segowlie (in his immediate proximity), but had immediately returned to it, and refused again to leave his post.

Chapra had been abandoned on the news of the Segowlie outbreak. It was re-occupied on the 12th, when everything was found in a tranquil orderly state, with the jail and treasury untouched, and the detachment of *najibs* loyal. Order had been preserved by a native gentleman, *Kazi* Ramzan Ali, who received the thanks of Government, and has since been more substantially rewarded. His conduct on this occasion is deserving of the highest praise.

On the 8th August, Sasaram was attacked and plundered by 2,000 of the rebels from Arrah. Shah Kabiruddin, whose influence over the Muhammadans in the neighbourhood was very great, kept the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood in good heart, and did his utmost to assist the Government. The Shah's conduct on this occasion was very praiseworthy, and he has since been thanked and rewarded.

Koer Singh, with a few followers and his relative Ummer Singh, hung, for some time, about Rhotas and its neighbourhood, and were not ejected without difficulty.

Disturbance had been caused in the Nawada district by a rebel named Hyder Ali Khan. He and one or two of his followers were captured by the police, and capitally punished, and the rest dispersed.

In consequence of the exposed state of the districts of Shahabad and Chapra on the abandonment of Gorakpur, the Arrah establishments were removed to Buxar.

Two 6-pounders were at this time placed at the disposal of Lieutenant Stanton, of the Engineers, for the protection of the passage of the Sone at Barun.

About this time Honorary Magistrates were appointed from among the indigo planters in the Chapra, Champaran and Tirhut districts. They were authorized to raise small and efficient bodies of police for the protection of their immediate neighbourhood. The arrival of two Gurkha regiments in the Champaran district had restored confidence in that quarter.

I must not omit to mention in this place the loyal spirit displayed by a *zamindar* in Tirhut, who, as the only means in his power of doing service to the State, and showing his loyalty and devotion, tendered a donation of Rs. 25,000 to Government. The name of this gentleman is Bishur Parkas Singh.

The 5th Irregular Cavalry, which had mutinied at Bhagalpur on the 14th of August, as will be detailed hereafter, after remaining for some time in the Sonthal *Parganas*, was now moving on Gaya, *via* Nawada, plundering as they went. No troops could be spared to

attack them, and Captain Rattray, who was stationed here with the Head Quarters of his Battalion, did not feel himself sufficiently strong to move out to any distance against them. At length, having destroyed the public buildings at Nawada, they approached Gaya, and Captain Rattray proceeded to encounter them at a few miles distance from the station ; but after a severe skirmish, in which, though suffering severely themselves, they inflicted considerable loss on the police Battalion, they evaded him and got to Gaya before he could reach it. Here they made an unsuccessful attack on a house which had been fortified for the protection of the residents, but succeeded in breaking open the jail and liberating the prisoners. They failed in an attempt to plunder the town, and, after murdering the Munsif of Bihar, rode off for Tikari and the Sone. These events took place on the 8th and 9th of September. After having committed every species of lawless act in their progress through the Bhagalpur and Bihar Divisions, they ultimately left the Division, no further attempt to stop them having been practicable.

A Naval Brigade, under Captain Sotheby, of *H. M. S. Pearl*, was, during this month, despatched for service in the Patna Division.

Whilst Ummer Singh, with the 5th Irregulars and other followers, was hanging about the neighbourhood of Sasaram, Lieutenant Stanton, of the Engineers, moved out from Dehri with a party of Sikhs in search of escaped prisoners, plunder, &c. In the village of Etwa some property belonging to Mr. Solano was discovered. The house in which the property was found was set on fire by order of Lieutenant Stanton. The inhabitants of a neighbouring village took the opportunity of firing other houses, and, the work of destruction once commenced, the whole village was destroyed. I did not, in this instance, disapprove of this wholesale destruction. It was not undeserved, for every inhabitant of the village was believed to have taken part in the late disturbances, and an example such as this was likely to have a salutary effect.

A portion of Colonel Fischer's Column, which had been moving along the Grand Trunk road, was permitted by the Supreme Government to halt at Dehri on the Sone ; whilst I had directed Captain Rattray to send to the same position as many of his Sikhs as he could spare from the defence of Gaya. Colonel Fischer reached the Sone on the 23rd of September.

Sasaram and its neighbourhood was now the part of the Division most liable to disturbance. Some uneasiness was still felt in the neighbourhood of Nawada, but it was gradually settling down since the return of the Deputy Magistrate ; and the whole of Bihar was gradually returning to a sense of security. The late *nazir* of Patna exerted his influence to restore order, and sent in many prisoners.

Shah Kabiruddin, of Sasaram, had continued to make himself useful and prove his loyalty, and was rewarded with a *khilat* of 10,000 Rupees and a *sanad* under the seal and signature of the Governor-General. But a complete feeling of security could hardly be expected to exist. In the beginning of October Ummer Singh and the 5th Irregulars were still in the neighbourhood of Rhotas. Bihar was constantly disturbed by reports that the mutineers of the Ramghar Battalion, who had broken out in Chota Nagpur, were intending to move in that direction. Rumours were current that Koer Singh meditated a return to Shahabad ; whilst uneasiness was kept up along the frontier on the banks of the Gogra by the abandonment of Gorakpur by the authorities, and its occupation by the *nazir*, who had been joined by a portion at least of the mutinous 12th Irregulars, and was said to be daily strengthening himself. At the suggestion of the Commissioner, Captain Sotheby's Naval Brigade was now sent to Buxar, with two mountain howitzers added to its equipment. This relieved the detachment of Sikhs at that station, who were thence moved for service in the interior of the district.

On the 28th September, Lieutenant Baker, 2nd in command of Rattray's Sikhs, surprised Ummer Singh's village of Sarohi. Here a quantity of grain and some ammunition were seized. Ummer Singh was not in the village. A *jamadar*, a *havildar*, and two sepoys were captured in the place, and hanged two days afterwards. Previously to this—from apprehension of possible contingencies—the *sawars* of the Sikh Battalion had been disarmed : but they took part in this affair and behaved so well that at Captain Rattray's request I consented to their having a further trial.

In answer to a communication from the Raja of Bettia, received early in October, I announced to him the capture of Delhi and relief of Lucknow under Generals Havelock and Outram, and at the same time I directed the Commissioner of Patna to spread this intelligence throughout his Division. Outrages continued to take place in the villages of the neighbourhood of Arrah, and Bihar was still in an unsettled state. A marauder named Jodhur Singh, with a band of Bhojpur men, was doing much mischief, making grants to his followers and alleging that the British rule was at an end, yet, notwithstanding all this, as the time for the collection of revenue approached, large sums came into the treasury. *Zamindars* who were unable to collect their rents sent in gold coins and old rupees, which were afterwards redeemed, and in some parts of the district the usual advances for Opium cultivation had been made and received. These things show the confidence that was felt in the strength and permanence of our rule.

On the 29th September an action was fought at Chatra, in Chota

Nagpur, between a force under Major English and the mutineers of the Ramghar Battalion. The fugitives from thence, joined by some of Koer Singh's men, took up a position in the village of Akbarpur. Here Captain Rattray attacked them on the 3rd of October with his Sikhs and *sawars*, and drove them with some loss into the jungles towards Rhotias. On this occasion too, the cavalry of the Battalion, though without their carbines and armed only with *talwars*, behaved loyally and well, and showed great courage, and I in consequence intimated to Captain Rattray that their carbines might be restored to them.

The approval of Government was conveyed to Maharaja Chattardhari Singh, of Hatwa, for the services he had rendered to the British troops, and the measures he had taken against the rebels.

Meantime fresh alarm was caused in the district of Bihar by the movements of two companies of the 32nd N. I., which had mutinied in the Bhagalpur Division. Owing to some misapprehension of orders, the detachment of H. M.'s 53rd Regiment, under Major English, which had been directed to proceed to Gaya for the protection of that place, halted at Shergati, and it was apprehended that these mutineers, following the route taken by the 5th Irregulars, might, in consequence of the delay, anticipate the arrival of this detachment. Precautions were, therefore, taken both at Nawada and Gaya ; 150 prisoners were removed from the former to the latter place, whilst preparations were made for forwarding these and others from Gaya to Patna, should it prove necessary ; the money in the treasury was expended in opium advances ; the records were removed to a place of safety, which the residents intended to defend with a garrison of 50 men.

The mutineers, however, continued their march through the districts of Bihar and Patna without visiting Gaya, and on the 22nd of October Major English reached that place.

Notice of the movements of the mutineers was sent to Captain Rattray in order that he might, if possible, intercept them. I directed Major Simpson at Hazaribagh to send as many as he could spare of the detachment of Sikhs at that place to reinforce Captain Rattray, whilst, on my representations to the Supreme Government, a wing of H. M.'s 13th Regiment with two guns, was sent up to Raniganj to be ready to move in any direction ; this being a precautionary measure in case the Head Quarters of the 32nd should follow the example of the two mutinous companies.

A party of 42 *najibs*, sent out to effect the capture of Jodhur Singh, failed in their object. He had taken up his position in a strongly fortified house surrounded by lofty mud walls loop-holed. An attempt to force an entrance was repulsed, and the attack was, for the present, abandoned.

Shahabad becoming more settled, was notwithstanding the presence of Ummer Singh in the district. Both his and Koer Singh's estates were declared forfeited to Government.

In Saran fears continued to be entertained of an advance from the Gorakpur direction, and the Commissioner had advanced one of the Gurkha regiments for the protection of the frontier. This regiment left Segowlie on the 17th October. The Naval Brigade was also ordered to Chapra, and, pending the arrival of the *Jamna* armed Steamer, the Patna steam ferryboat was detained for service in the Gogra.

In a Minute addressed to the Government of India, I suggested the re-organization of the Patna station-guards (*najibs*) upon the footing of Captain Rattray's Police Corps. This has been since sanctioned, and the approval of the Supreme Government has also been given for raising a regiment of Irregular Cavalry in the Bihar Division.

The two companies of the 32nd mutineers had, unopposed, continued their march through the Division, and crossed the Sone at Arwal *ghat* on the 24th of October ; and in the meantime a 2nd detachment of two companies of the same regiment, who were proceeding from Barhait, in the Sonthal *Parganas*, to the Head Quarters of the regiment at Suri, mutinied *en route*, and followed the general direction taken by the previous detachment and the 5th Irregulars. Had it been found practicable to pursue them immediately, it is impossible that they could have escaped.

It was on the 17th of October that they broke out into mutiny at Rampur Hat, and it was not till the 24th of that month that two companies of H. M.'s 13th and a portion of the Yeomanry were sent in pursuit. They had thus a start of six days ; still it was hoped that, though the pursuing column might not come up with them, yet that they would be kept in a state of hurry and alarm, and that the calamitous consequences of their march might thus be in some degree mitigated. Lieutenant Boddam, of the Artillery, an officer well acquainted with the country through which they would have to pass, and who throughout the whole period of the disturbances had done admirable service, was sent with the pursuing column. It is as well briefly to add here that this second body of mutineers, following nearly in the track of the first, on reaching Nawada, were attacked by the force under Major English on the 2nd November. After losing several killed and wounded, the main body escaped and forded the Sone at Arwal. On the 6th Captain Rattray met them at a place called Danchua, and a severe fight took place, lasting for many hours. The sepoyes on this occasion fought with great obstinacy. The advantage of position was all on their side. Dislodged with considerable difficulty from plots of sugar-cane, in which

they had established themselves, they retreated on the village of Danchua, where, protected first by a mud wall in front of the village on which our guns could make no impression, and then fighting persistently from house to house, they were able, in some measure, to maintain their position, till, night closing in, they made good their retreat, and by a march of 40 miles, escaped from the district, and evaded all further pursuit. Their loss was heavy, nor was the victory gained without a considerable loss on our side, including Lieutenant Boyd, a very gallant and promising young officer, who was doing duty with the Battalion. Mr. E. B. Baker, Deputy Magistrate of Sasaram, was present, and took part in the engagement.

The first detachment had previously crossed the Grand Trunk road about 36 miles in advance of Dehri, actually under the eye of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who was at that time travelling up country by *dak*.

The Saran district during this time did not remain unscathed—500 men from Gorakpur having entered the district and plundered two factories, one belonging to a native, Baburam, the other to Mr. Macleod, the European assistants of the latter having barely time to escape.

I directed the Commissioner to do the best he could for the defence of the district, making use of the two Gurkha regiments and of the Naval Brigade, but for the present to act strictly on the defensive; and I now made an application to the Supreme Government, requesting that European officers should be attached to the Gurkhas. This was immediately accorded; but pending permission, the Brigadier in command at Dinapore had, at the instance of the Commissioner, sent some officers to do duty with the force. One of the regiments, together with Captain Sotheby's Naval Brigade, was stationed at Siwan, the other at Motihari and subsequently at Bettia, and no further attack was made from the Gorakpur direction. The *Jamna*, as has been previously stated, was ordered to enter the Gogra; but her Commander reported that there was not sufficient water for her; much later, however, in the dry weather, the *Jamna* was able to proceed up the Gogra. For the present she was employed in guarding the Sonepur *ghat* during the annual fair. Every thing went off quietly at this fair, and Mr. Macleod purchased a large quantity of draught bullocks and some horses on the part of Government.

A body of European mounted police was about this time (beginning of November) sanctioned for the Bihar district, and a Commandant and 26 men were entertained and sent up. This has been found a very useful body. Trials under Act XVI of 1857 had been going on in all the districts of the Division. Some few men had been executed, and many

more sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The statistics of these trials have been so fully detailed in the weekly narratives that I shall not make any further allusion to them.

Ummer Singh and his followers continued to infest Rhotas and its neighbourhood, and on one occasion a relative of his, with a party of marauders, crossed the Sone for the purpose of plunder.

Shah Kabiruddin more than once proposed to raise a body of men at Sasaram to act against them, and I called for a report on this subject from the local authorities, who, however, did not give their support to the scheme. The Commissioner also strongly represented the necessity of clearing out Rhotas, and I communicated his views to the Supreme Government ; but, about the middle of November, Ummer Singh was said to be deserted by the rabble who had hitherto followed him, and to have taken refuge in Chainpur with the fugitive mutineers of the 32nd Native Infantry. Shahabad was becoming tranquillized.

In the districts to the North of the Ganges everything remained quiet. A meditated attack on the Mohowla Raja by Rit Bhanwar Singh, a relative of Koer Singh, was checked by the advance of the Siwan Brigade. At this time, had it been in the power of the authorities in the Central Provinces to afford efficient co-operation, I had intended making a movement towards Gorakpur with the Naval Brigade and Gurkhas ; but, on being informed of their inability to act in concert with this movement, I directed the Commissioner to be cautious in making any advance, and on no account to allow the troops to move beyond Selimpur. A Brahmin, taken in the camp of the Naval Brigade with seditious letters in his possession, was tried by Court Martial and shot.

The detachment of Gurkhas at Bagha *ghat*, on the Gogra, captured 19 of a party of rebels armed with fire-locks, swords &c., who had crossed into Champaran ; but these districts generally were tranquil and quiet.

Some uneasiness was felt in the Bihar district on account of preparations made by the Rani of Tikari, who was reported to be collecting men and to be mounting guns on her fort.

In Shahabad Ummer Singh was now said to be a fugitive lurking in jungles and caves, with only seven or eight followers ; but the neighbourhood of Rhotas was still infested by banditti who did some mischief. The inhabitants of a village near Akbarpur successfully repulsed an attack made by a *subadar* and 50 sepoyys, wounding the *subadar* and three of his men.

Another party of sepoyys crossed the Sone and set fire to the bungalow belonging to the Bengal Coal Company at Budwa, destroying much property. In the districts North of the Ganges a new element of danger

was at this time added by the mutinies of the detachments at Dacca and Chittagong. It was feared that the 73rd regiment at Jalpaiguri, as well as the *rissas* of Irregular Cavalry, would follow the example set by these detachments, and joining them would attempt to make their way through these districts into Oudh. Great panic in consequence prevailed, and this extended even to Patna, where the natives were reported to be sending away their wives and children. I urgently represented the matter to the Supreme Government; but it was at that time found impossible to spare any of the troops that were moving upcountry. The Yeomanry Cavalry, then at Gaya, were, however, placed at my disposal, and I directed them to proceed into Tirhut with all practicable despatch for the protection of Muzaffarpur and the Government Stud at Pusa. The danger, however, which at the time seemed so imminent, passed over, and Tirhut and the other Northern districts remained undisturbed.

I was at this time informed by the Supreme Government that Maharaja Jang Bahadur was about to march an Army into our territories to co-operate with us, and that His Excellency might be expected at Segowlie about the 19th December. I at once directed the Commissioner to issue orders for the collection of all necessary supplies and for the affording all assistance that might be required for the Nepalese Army.

Considerable alarm was caused in the Shahabad district early in December by a report, seeming to rest on reliable grounds, that a body of 2,000 sepoyes were about to cross the Gogra near Barha *ghat*. Preparations were made for opposing them; but the report proved subsequently to be altogether groundless.

A reward of 1,000 Rupees was offered for the apprehension of Ummer Singh, and a smaller reward for the capture of Sarnam Singh, a rebel ringleader, who had lately attacked the Telkap indigo factory, murdering three factory servants and a police *barkandaz*.

On the Gorakpur frontier a party of Gurkhas, under Lieutenant Burlton, made a successful expedition to Bhanuli in Gorakpur, recovering a large number of hackeries and cattle.

A small body of rebels crossed from the Gorakpur into the Saran district, and attacked the post of Gathni, which was held by a detachment of 55 Sikhs, who, thinking a large force was on them, fled. Reinforcements were promptly sent by Colonel Rowcroft from the Gurkhas and Naval Brigade; but the enemy had made his escape across the river before the party came up. Captain Rattray had frequently represented the partial disorganisation of his corps caused by his having to detach so many different parties from Head Quarters. I now directed him to hold himself in readiness to proceed to Arrah, informing him that

arrangements would be made for calling in as many as possible of these detachments. This, too, was an arrangement that would tend much to the pacification of the country in the neighbourhood of Arrah. I also desired that Mr. Wake, the Magistrate of Arrah, should send in a scheme for strengthening the local Police.

On the 15th December two regiments of the force, under Maharaja Jang Bahadur, arrived at Champaran, and another on the 19th. Mr. Richardson, Collector of Saran, was sent to superintend the collection of supplies, carriages, &c., for the force, a duty which he most satisfactorily performed. Messrs. Raikes and O'Reilly also exerted themselves in a very praiseworthy manner, as did Mr. Dampier of Tirhut.

The services of Mewa Lal, the *sujdari nazir*, and Munshi Zinat Hossain, the Government *vakil* at Gaya, were brought to notice by the Magistrate, and suitably rewarded.

On the 23rd December Captain Rattray arrived at Arrah with the Head Quarters of the Battalion. Some uneasiness continued to be felt in the Shahabad district, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of Sasaram. In Bihar all was quiet. An extra police force of 250 men was at this time sanctioned for the sub-division of Nawada.

In the districts north of the Ganges a feeling of insecurity still prevailed in consequence of the near neighbourhood of the Gorakpur rebels, some of whom, indeed, were occupying posts on this side of the Gogra; nor had anxiety yet ceased as to the movements of the mutinous *sawars* from Jalpaiguri and the sepoys from Dacca, who were moving along the *Tarai* to the north of Tirhut. The Yeomanry Cavalry were still in a position to protect Muzaffarpur and Arrah.

On the 23rd of December Jang Bahadur, with the main body of his army, arrived at Bettia, and on the same day General MacGregor, who had been appointed Military Commissioner with His Excellency, also reached that place. All arrangements for carriage and supplies had been satisfactorily completed.

On the 26th of December, at Sohanpur, on the Gorakpur frontier, Colonel Rowcroft, commanding the force consisting of the Naval Brigade and detachments of two Gurkha regiments, 50 of Rattray's Sikhs; in all less than a thousand men, defeated a force under the *naib nazir* Mashraf Khan, consisting of not less than 6,000 or 7,000 men, amongst whom were 1,100 or 1,200 sepoys. Of the rebels 120 are said to have been killed, whilst Colonel Rowcroft lost only one dooly-bearer killed, and one man, a Gurkha *subadar*, wounded.

On the same day a fight took place at Sahibganj, 5 miles from Pipra, between 2 regiments sent out by Maharaja Jang Bahadur and a party

of rebels, 4 of whom were killed and several wounded, the Gurkhas losing only one man killed and 3 wounded.

These successes had the effect of clearing the districts of the Patna Division North of the Ganges. The Maharaja of Bettia received my acknowledgments for the service he had rendered in assisting to prevent the rebels from crossing the Gandak.

Early in January 1858 Colonel Rowcroft and his force moved into the Gorakpur district, so that his future proceedings do not come within the scope of this narrative.

On the 13th January, the Deputy Magistrate at Sasaram reported that Ummer Singh, being pressed by a force despatched from Mirzapur, had reoccupied Rhotas ; but that no troops, European or native, were available at Sasaram to co-operate with the Mirzapur party. Colonel Michell was now commanding at that post, and I directed Captain Rattray to return to Sasaram, and give the assistance of his Battalion in clearing out and occupying Rhotas.

Bihar was meanwhile perfectly quiet. One hundred sailors, with officers of the Indian Navy, had been sent up to Gaya, and arrived early in January. Mr. Money reported that two brothers, Rajput *samindars*, had offered to bring 500 men to act against Rhotas. Their offer was accepted, and they were directed to join Captain Rattray's force.

Early in February Captain Rattray arrived at Sasaram, and Colonel Michell immediately proceeded to organise an advance on Rhotas with a detachment of H. M.'s 54th, a few men of the Royal Artillery, a portion of the Bengal Police Battalion, and some levies furnished by *samindars*. Colonel Michell occupied the fort without any opposition, Ummer Singh's rabble having retired on his approach ; but it was evident, from the preparations that had been made in Rhotas and its neighbourhood, that the enemy had contemplated holding the place in force at some future time ; and it was probably intended to be a rallying point, when the rebels should be driven out of Oudh and Gorakpur.

An attack made by 200 rebels in the beginning of February on Akbarpur was repulsed by the *samindars*.

The mutineers of the 11th Irregulars and 73rd N. I., who had been moving through the *Tarai*, were about this time reported to have crossed the Gandak, and all fear of their entering the Patna Division was at an end.

In anticipation of the permission of the Supreme Government, I authorized the authorities in Tirhut and Champaran to entertain extra police to prevent the escape of fugitive mutineers, under the guise of pilgrims, into Nepal, during the Shivaratri festival, which took place

on the 12th of February, and the Nepal darbar, with the same object, directed the closing of the passes into Nepal.

At the suggestion of Colonel Michell and Mr. Wake, I sanctioned, subject to the confirmation of the Supreme Government, the entertainment of a levy of 250 men for the occupation of Rhotas.

This has been organized by Mr. Baker, Deputy Magistrate at Sasaram, and placed under a very intelligent Non-Commissioned officer, Sergeant Nolan, whose services were placed at my disposal for this purpose ; and, while this body was being raised and disciplined, Rhotas was occupied by Lieutenant Baker, 2nd in Command of Captain Rattray's Police Battalion, with a large detachment from that corps, which still continues to hold it.

The Deputy Magistrate at Sasaram was also empowered to increase his local police.

The march of H. M.'s 85th regiment through Bihar seemed to offer a fitting opportunity for dismantling the fort of Tikari. The regiment was, at my request, directed to halt at Gaya, and two companies, with the sailors who have been previously mentioned, proceeded to Tikari, accompanied by the Magistrate Mr. Money, and his assistant Mr. Bayley.

It is unnecessary to repeat what has been so recently reported of the proceedings here, resulting in the discovery of some guns, ammunition, &c., the existence of which was persistently denied ; but the concealment took place, in all probability, more from fear of the consequence supposed to be attendant on their discovery, than from any intention of reserving them with a view to future treasonable designs against Government.

Considering the case in this light, I hesitated to adopt the severe measures recommended by the Commissioner, who proposed the partial, if not the entire, destruction of the fortifications, and the removal of the Rani to Patna. I held that the guns and ammunition having been seized under the operation of section 26, Act XXVIII. of 1857, the penalty therein laid down was all that in strict justice could be enforced, and that great allowances were to be made for the circumstances which, in the state of partial lawlessness prevailing in the Bihar district, had almost compelled the Rani to take up arms for her own protection, as she had been actually laid under heavy contribution by the 5th Irregulars during their march through Bihar.

Early in March a large body of rebels was said to be advancing from Faizabad in Oudh *via* Gorakpur towards the district of Saran. They were, however, defeated by Colonel Rowcroft with heavy loss, and the danger was thus for the time averted ; but on the 26th March I received positive intelligence that Azimghar was occupied and a detachment of H. M.'s

37th regiment besieged in their entrenchments at that place, by a considerable force under Koer Singh. It is not for me to describe the operations at Azimghar on the advance of various detachments to its relief from Allahabad, Benares and Ghazipur, or the subsequent defeat of the rebels by Sir E. Lugard with the Division which had been despatched under his command from Lucknow. All this has doubtless been detailed by the Government of the North West Provinces. I return to the relation of the measures taken for the defence of the several districts of Bihar, and more particularly of Shahabad, which was now again to be partially occupied by the rebel forces, and of Chapra, which seemed also to be threatened. At the end of March the force in the Division was thus disposed.

At Dinapore, under the Command of Brigadier Christie, were portions of each of H. M.'s regiments, the 35th and 37th, in all about 600; of these 53 were at Patna.

At Dehri, watching the *ghats* of the Sone, was the headquarters of the Bengal Police Battalion under Captain Rattray, from which he had furnished detachments, to Rhotas 250, to Jahanabad, on the Grand Trunk road, 100 infantry, with nearly all the cavalry attached to his Battalion, besides other parties at Patna, Chapra and elsewhere.

At Sasaram, under the independent Command of Colonel Michell, and afterwards of Colonel Corfield, were from 200 to 300 European recruits, with 70 artillerymen and 49-pounder guns. Here also was the levy before spoken of under Sergeant Nolan, 250 strong.

At Gaya were 100 sailors under Lieutenant Duval, I. N., and 25 European police under Mr. Hely.

I despatched from Calcutta on the 1st of April 100 European seamen, accompanied, as usual, by two guns, and I directed the Commissioner of Patna to make a requisition on Mr. Yule, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, for the 100 European sailors with their guns, who were then at Purnea.

Both at Arrah and Chapra an entrenched position was established, and at the former place, in consideration of its proximity to Jagdishpur, were stationed two companies of H. M.'s 35th, which, at the urgent representation of Mr. Samuells, the Commissioner, Brigadier Christie had sent thither, together with two light howitzers and a handful of artillery, the 100 sailors from Calcutta and 100 Sikhs, whom Captain Rattray had been directed to send from Dehri. At Chapra were posted the 100 seamen from Purnea and about 50 of Rattray's Sikhs, whilst at Siwan was a levy similar to that at Sasaram, 200 strong which had been raised and organised under the superintendence of Mr. McDonell the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.

I do not mention the Bihar station-guards, which were scattered over the Division generally, at different stations, for these were universally mistrusted, and, as will be seen, it has since been thought advisable to disarm them.

The armed steamers *Jamna* and *Megna* were directed to cruise—the latter in the Ganges off Ballia, the former in the Gogra, so as to interfere with any crossing either into Shahabad or Chapra.

The fort at Buxar was put into a state of defence, and manned by a few seamen from the *Jamna*.

Koer Singh, meanwhile, had been driven out of Azimghar by Sir E. Lugard about the 13th of April, and had been again defeated on the 20th at Bansdia by a column under Brigadier Douglas, who closely pursued him to the very banks of the Ganges, where so precipitate was the flight of the rebels that their guns, treasure and even Koer Singh's palanquin fell into the hands of the pursuing force. A large party nevertheless effected the passage of the river at Sheopur, where they were said to have been assisted with boats by the *zamindars* of that place, and made their way to the jungles of Jagdishpur. This was on the 21st of April. On the 22nd the officer commanding the troops at Arrah, Captain LeGrand, having consulted with the civil authorities, determined on an attack on Jagdishpur, before the enemy, broken and dispirited, should have time to recover its energies or make any efficient preparations for defence.

Accordingly, with the 2 companies of H. M.'s 35th, 140 strong, 50 European sailors and 100 Sikhs, 5 artillerymen and 2 guns, he made a night march arriving in the neighbourhood of Jagdishpur before daylight in the morning. When day dawned he entered the jungles, into which he had not penetrated far, when, meeting with some slight opposition, he ordered a retreat perhaps in the hope of drawing the enemy into the open plain. But, whatever may have been his motive for thus retiring, the retreat on the part of the Europeans degenerated into a panic flight. No entreaties of their officers could induce the men again to form and face their pursuers, whilst heat and fatigue did their work and proved most fatal enemies. Man after man dropped from exhaustion; and out of nearly 200 European soldiers and seamen who left Arrah, not more than 59 returned alive. Three officers also fell, amongst whom was Captain LeGrand, the others being Lieutenant Impey and Dr. Clarke, of H. M.'s 35th. Guns, ammunition, tent equipage, &c., fell into the enemy's hands; but it is due to the artillerymen to say that they fought their guns to the last, and out of the 5 one only escaped. The Sikhs behaved with the greatest bravery, forming a rear-guard and covering the retreat; perhaps it is not too much to say,

that but for them not a European would have returned to Arrah. Their loss was 10 killed and 5 wounded. Lieutenant Waller, of the late 40th N. I., who commanded them, and showed very great gallantry, was also severely wounded, nor would he have escaped but for the devotion of one of the native officers with the Sikhs, who gave up his horse to him. The name of this officer is Nihal Singh. For this act of devotion, and for his conduct and bearing generally on this occasion, he has received the first class of the Order of Merit at the recommendation of Captain Rattray. *Jamadar* Sewdial Singh also behaved with conspicuous bravery, and was presented with the 3rd class of the Order of Merit.

The enemy followed up the pursuit to within 2 miles of Arrah.

In Chapra precautions were taken against any possible advance of the enemy in that direction, and, when an incursion into the district seemed imminent, the ladies and the treasure, amounting to 6 *lakhs*, were taken into Dinapore.

Great fears were naturally entertained for this district, as it was pretty generally known that in the treasury of the Raja of Hatwa was property to the amount of a crore of rupees (one million sterling), nor, in the event of any attempt on the place, should we have been able to render the slightest assistance to this loyal family, who have stood firmly by us during the whole disturbances.

Saran, however, was not made the point of attack, and, with the exception of a few small and scattered parties, no attempt on the part of the rebels was made to enter the district. The presence of the Steamer *Jamna* may have had its effect, and I ought to mention that the *Megna* fired into and dispersed more than one body that would otherwise have crossed the Ganges into Shahabad.

It was not till the 30th of April that any reinforcements reached Arrah. On that and the following day, a portion of Brigadier Douglas' column which had commenced the passage of the Ganges on the 28th of April, moved into the station, and by this time Sir E. Lugard had also arrived on the opposite bank and was preparing to cross. Measures were also taken for reinforcing Sasaram, and H. M.'s 6th regiment, then in Calcutta, was with all haste despatched to that place. During all this time the rebels, emboldened by their success of the 23rd, which had added 2 guns and other arms, with a considerable quantity of ammunition, to their equipment, were strengthening themselves at Jagdishpur. Discharged sepoys and bad characters from the districts round were flocking in, and Ummer Singh had joined them with a considerable band of followers.

It was afterwards found that Koer Singh, who had been wounded during the retreat, died very soon after his arrival at Jagdishpur ; but his death was, for some time, carefully concealed by those about him, as his name has always been a tower of strength to the rebels in this part of the country.

During the first week in May, Sir E. Lugard was engaged in crossing his force into Shahabad, and in making his preparations for an attack on Jagdishpur. On the 7th, after an interview on the previous day with the Commissioner and Brigadier Christie, he marched to Bihia with a force of artillery, 13 guns, cavalry about 600, and infantry about 1,400, with the intention of advancing on the west, as the rebels had devoted all their energies to the defence of the east approach, on which side they confidently expected an attack. Having made all arrangements on the 8th, as fully detailed in his own despatch, he on the 9th moved on Jagdishpur, from which the enemy were dislodged after making a determined stand, the casualties on our side being only 2 men slightly wounded. But, though driven from their position at Jagdishpur, the rebels still held together in the extensive jungle which on all sides surrounds it, and on the 11th the General, having opened communications with Colonel Corfield, who by his direction had moved from Sasaram to Piru with between 800 and 900 men, again attacked them, Colonel Corfield making a simultaneous attack from the south whilst Colonel Robertson on the west, with cavalry and horse artillery, repulsed a party, said to be under the leadership of Ummer Singh, which attempted to break away in that direction.

In all these operations the enemy suffered very severely. Our loss was trifling, and as usual the sun proved more destructive than the sword, many, and especially in Colonel Corfield's force, being struck down by heat and exhaustion.

The main body of the rebels had now established themselves in the Southern part of this extensive jungle. On the 15th they made a faint attack on Sir E. Lugard's position, but retreated as soon as the troops moved out. Their strength could not actually be estimated ; but the Commissioner was of opinion that there was still a collection of some 3,000 men, of whom only a portion were sepoys, the remainder being composed of fluctuating bodies from the different villages round.

Parties from time to time detached themselves in different directions ; as, for instance, one body of from 300 to 400 men crossed the Grand Trunk road at Jahanabad, carrying off the *dak* horses and burning an indigo factory in the neighbourhood. This party afterwards returned to the jungle. The attention of the authorities was now directed to the destruction of this jungle, and, as its immediate and entire demolition

was impossible, it was determined to cut a broad path* through the jungle from east to west with Jagdishpur as its centre, so that the rebels should not be able to pass from south to north, or *vice versa*, without detection.

Sir E. Lugard took up a position at Jagdishpur ; but Colonel Corfield returned to Sasaram, a movement which he considered necessary for the protection of the Grand Trunk road.

This was the state of affairs till the 26th. On that day Sir E. Lugard having first despatched a party of cavalry and artillery to Dalipur to divert the enemy's attention, whilst H. M.'s 10th Foot, under the command of Brigadier Douglas, marched through the jungle to attack the enemy's rear, moved with the main body of his forces on their position at the village of Mitha, on the south western skirt of the jungle.

Almost as soon as our forces came in sight, the rebels, having fired a few rounds from the two howitzers captured in the disastrous affair with the detachment of the 35th, abandoned them and fled precipitately. They were pursued for some miles by the 10th Foot, who at length were obliged to desist from fatigue, and subsequently 500 of the rebels were believed to have succeeded in returning to the jungle. Besides the guns, two elephants and some baggage and supplies fell into our hands.

So far the remainder of the district had continued comparatively quiet. A rebel named Futteh Singh, who gave some trouble last year, collected some followers in the Bihar district ; but the Deo Raja volunteered to put him down, and the Sonepura Raja had actually attacked and driven him from a position he had taken up, for which service he has received the commendation of Government. A few scattered bodies in twos and threes made their way into the Chapra district, more with the idea and hope of eluding pursuit and returning to their villages than with any hostile intention.

The rebels, during the whole time of their occupation of a portion of the Shahabad district, had levied contributions on all the neighbouring villages, and taken severe vengeance on all whom they considered to be their enemies. As an instance of their barbarity I may mention that a *barkandaz*, who was conveying a letter from Arrah, having fallen into their hands, they cut off the unfortunate man's nose and right hand, and in this state dismissed him, nor was this a solitary instance of their cruelty.

Sir E. Lugard now moved from his standing camp at Jagdishpur which was becoming unhealthy, and occupied a post on the east side of the jungle. On the 2nd of June, having received trustworthy intelligence of the rebel position, he advanced on it from the eastward, (Brigadier

* An estimate made showed that it would have employed 320,000 men 6 weeks to cut it all down.

Douglas having been sent to occupy Dalipur on the west,) and, attacking the rebels at a place called Akarwa, took them completely by surprise, and drove them into the north-east corner of the jungle, killing between 30 and 40 of them. He then extended a line of sentries through the jungle completely from east to west, so as to prevent their recrossing this line. On the 3rd the General again attacked them at Bhitaura, and obtained a complete success, their loss being very severe, not less probably than 200. Four elephants were captured.

On that night the rebels under Ummer Singh, who was seen by the villagers mounted on a white horse and clothed in armour, evacuated the jungle in a body, and moved on Surajpura, and from thence to the village of Dhansuki, where they plundered the house of the Dumraon Raja's Dewan. From thence they turned westward, and, crossing the Karamnassa, took up a position in the village of Gomhur, which overlooks the Ganges. Lieutenant Baker, 2nd in Command of the Bengal Police Battalion, started with 60 of his *sawars* in pursuit of Ummer Singh ; but, though he marched upwards of 70 miles in two days, he failed in overtaking the party of the rebel chief before they had secured their position in the village of Gomhur.

Meanwhile an unfortunate occurrence had taken place in the Chapra district, where the *daroga* of Tajpur, who had made himself particularly active in the apprehension of fugitive mutineers, was murdered by some of the scattered bands, whom I have before mentioned as having entered that district. The family of this officer will be pensioned.

At the representation of the Commissioner I applied for an officer to command the Siwan Levy, and Captain Miles of the late 23rd N. I., was appointed.

About this time the capture took place of the rebel chief Nishan Singh. This man had, from the time of the first outbreak, taken a prominent part, and was one of the principal leaders. A reward of 1,000 Rs. had long been offered for his apprehension.

He had some days previously left the rebel camp, and proceeded in the direction of his own village of Bardeshi. From information furnished by Mr. Baker, Deputy Magistrate of Sasaram, this capture was admirably effected by Sergeant Nolan with a party of the Sasaram *sebundis* (which are under his charge). In the absence of any Special Commissioner, he was handed over to the military authorities for trial, and sentenced to be blown from a gun, and the sentence was carried out. He confirmed the intelligence, of which there had previously been some sort of doubt, of the death of Koer Singh.

My commendations were conveyed to Mr. Baker, Sergeant Nolan,

and all concerned in this business. The reward was paid and distributed amongst the captors.

The rebel force, which under the conduct of Ummer Singh had, as I have stated, taken up their position in the village of Gomhur, were burning and destroying in various directions. Brigadier Douglas was, however, in pursuit, and reached Buxar on the morning of the 9th of June. It was hoped that Colonel Cumberledge, who had moved from Ghazipur to Zamania, with a small force of cavalry, infantry and 2 guns, would have been able to co-operate from the west; but, thinking that Ghazipur was threatened, he returned to that place before Brigadier Douglas was able to make his attack. On the evening of the 9th, about 500 men opened a musketry fire on the *Megna* gun boat, which was lying near Gomhur. No damage was done to the crew who, under the direction of their commander, Mr. Sanderson, kept up an incessant fire on the enemy, resulting in their killing one *sardar* and 6 men. Mr. Sanderson's spirited conduct received my warm approbation.

Brigadier Douglas moved across the Karamnassá on the 11th June with the intention of attacking the rebel position at Gomhur, but Ummer Singh, without waiting the attack, evacuated this post, and once more returned to the Jagdishpur jungle with several men. Captain Rattray, with 300 or 400 men of his Battalion, was encamped at Rupsagar, and the rebels fired a few shots into his camp as they past on their way into the jungle, which they reached on the 12th. General Lugard, with H. M.'s 10th Foot and other troops, was at Dalipur, west of the jungle. Other parties of the rebels had meanwhile crossed into the Ghazipur district, where they did considerable damage.

On the 15th a portion of those in the Jagdishpur jungle marched for the Sone and crossed into the Bihar district, with the supposed intention of attacking the fort of Tikari, where a large sum of money, 15 to 20 *lakhs*, was known to be deposited. They plundered villages on both sides of the Sone, destroyed two factories belonging to Mr. Solano, and surprised and burned the *thana* of Bikram in Bihar. General Lugard had meanwhile moved into Arrah, and his force was so much knocked up, as to be unable to take up arms in pursuit of these marauding parties. Captain Rattray was left with his Sikhs to watch the jungle and protect the men employed in cutting it down; but he also retired into Arrah on the 17th June, being pressed for supplies and much outnumbered by the enemy in his neighbourhood. This move he had been directed to take in case of Ummer Singh showing himself with any force at Jagdishpur.

Colonel Longden, however, with a portion of General Lugard's force, pushed across the Sone towards Dinapore with a view of preventing any attack on the city of Patna. Nor was this uncalled for. It was

notorious that the rebels had entered the Patna district, and, as has been shown, had destroyed the Bikram *thana* at a distance of not more than 16 miles from the city itself, which was incapable of resisting any attack, whilst the opium godown (and this too at the manufacturing season) was entirely destitute of means of defence, the small party of Sikhs, which had hitherto guarded it, having been sent off to join the headquarters of their Battalion at Jagdishpur, where their services seemed urgently required, and a similar party from Chapra, upon which the Commissioner had depended, having meanwhile been despatched to Siwan for the protection of the Saran frontier, which was then threatened.

Patna, however, was not attacked, owing, probably, to the movement of our troops under Colonel Longden. Of the rebels who had crossed the Sone the main body were led by Jodhur Singh, a man whose name has been before mentioned in the course of the narrative, originally possessing little or no influence, but whom a certain amount of audacity, combined with accurate local knowledge and bitter hostility to the authorities, have raised to a certain degree of importance. He was at this time, believed to have with him a force of not less than 700 men; but the numbers appear to have been somewhat exaggerated, and at any rate of regular sepoyos he could at no time have had more than 150, with perhaps double that number of half-armed rabble,—a quite sufficient number, however, to do very serious damage, where no resistance could be immediately organised.

It was apprehended from the first that Gaya and its jail would again be attacked, and Mr. Money, the Magistrate, applied for assistance to Captain Young, who was at that time at Shergati with a detachment of Madras Rifles. He brought 300 men into Gaya, and two companies of the same regiment, which afterwards arrived at Shergati, were also directed by the military authorities to proceed to Gaya.

In a consultation with Mr. Money, Captain Young gave it as his opinion that the position of the jail was untenable, and Mr. Money consequently determined on despatching 156 of the worst prisoners under a portion of the *najib* guard (Bihar station-guards) to Shergati. This detachment broke into mutiny on the road within six miles of Shergati, shot their native officer, and released the prisoners. Nine of them went off to join the rebels, whilst the remainder, with 8 of the prisoners whom they professed to have recaptured, went on to Shergati, and alleged that they had been attacked by the enemy, and that the release of the prisoners had been forcibly made. This was proved to be false, and after trial 18 of the *najibs* were sentenced to be hanged, and the rest—23—to be transported, and the sentences were carried out. The jail at Gaya had meanwhile been left in charge of the remainder

of the *najib* guard, and on the night of the 21st June they reported that 200 rebels came quietly to the jail and released the prisoners. The whole transaction is mysterious; but the Magistrate who investigated the matter acquitted the guard of any thing more than cowardice. It was, however, considered desirable to disarm the whole of the Patna station-guards, who had long been distrusted, and the measure was carried out without difficulty. In the same letter in which the Commissioner conveyed the news of this third release of the Gaya prisoners he brought to notice the systematic plan which the rebels were pursuing throughout the districts in which they had established a footing. Revenue was being regularly collected by them, all the Government buildings and all friendly villages were destroyed, the police and those who had in any way evinced a favourable feeling to Government were ruthlessly murdered, and the unfortunate contractor who had supplied our troops at Jagdishpur was hanged. On the 24th of June the Jahanabad *thana*, on the road between Gaya and Patna, was surprised, the Government buildings burnt, the *daroga* cut to pieces, and his mangled body afterwards hung up by the heels on a tree opposite the site of the *thana*. On the following day a police post was attacked, and one *barkandaz* killed, the rest being able to effect their escape. The Nimanadawa *dak* bungalow was also destroyed on the same day, and Jodhur Singh is said to have boasted that he would destroy every public building between the Sone and Monghyr. Nimanadawa is not more than 10 miles from Patna, and the Commissioner made judicious arrangements for the defence of the city in case of an attack, moving a portion of the Marine Brigade, with two guns, to the opium godown, and posting his police so as to prevent any rising in the city. A reinforcement of two companies of H. M.'s 10th Foot had been sent from Dinapore. The treasure, amounting to 11 *lakhs*, was moved into the fort, as was also the Collector's office with the records, so as to save guards as much as possible.

But the enemy kept clear of any stations where troops might be supposed to be posted, and contented themselves with doing all the damage in their power to the scattered *thanas* and police stations.

The Tikari Ranis represented their defenceless condition, and I directed Mr. Money to send two companies of the Madras Rifles, accompanied by a civil officer, for their protection. This has since been done, but, though bands of the rebels were constantly in the neighbourhood of that fort, no attack was attempted by them.

The Chapra district, which at first was comparatively free from invasion, had lately, as I have shown, been infested by small and scattered parties of mutineers, and on the night of the 21st June an

attack on a somewhat larger scale, by a party variously estimated at from 100 to 500 men was made on Captain Miles' post at Etwa. With the newly raised Siwan Levy and a few Sikhs he repulsed this attack, killing twelve of the enemy, and, a few days later, he in his turn attacked them at a place called Lahazi, and, on their taking flight, pursued them for some distance. Great credit is due to Captain Miles for the service he has rendered with this before untried force.

For the defence of Muzaffarpur and Motihari, which had hitherto depended on the *najib* guards, now disarmed, the Marine Brigade was sent from Patna, whilst provision was made for the protection of the opium godown by an increase to the detachment from Dinapore.

On the 29th June Mr. Money, with a company of the Madras Rifles under Captain Young, and 5 European police surprised a party of rebels under Hetum Singh, a brother of Jodhur Singh in the village of Nimawan. They fled precipitately, till they reached the banks of the river Pun Pun, where they seemed inclined to make a slight resistance ; but they eventually made off, having lost three of their number.

Captain Rattray, with a portion of his battalion, 300 Infantry and 50 Cavalry, had been despatched across the Sone in order to the clearance of the Gaya district. After dispersing one party of the enemy near Arwal *ghat*, his attention was given to the main body under Jodhur Singh, of whose movements he had trustworthy intelligence, and on the morning of the 4th July he succeeded in coming up with and engaging them at a place called Kasma. The particulars of this action have been fully detailed in Captain Rattray's and Mr. Money's letters, published in the *Government Gazette* ; and it is unnecessary to say more than that the Sikhs fought with their accustomed gallantry, that Jodhur Singh's force was completely defeated, with a loss of about 100 men, and that this victory had the effect of clearing the whole of the Gaya district.

Soon after this Captain Rattray returned to Dehri, and since then he has succeeded in capturing the notorious freebooter Sarnam Singh, and destroying the whole of the male members of his family, who formed his gang. This man, having established himself on one of the spurs of the Rhotas hills, had long been the terror of the neighbourhood. His capture was effected by a clever stratagem. The few Hindustanis in Captain Rattray's Battalion, numbering not more than 7, and a sepoy of the late 56th N. I. having, under the disguise of mutineers, obtained access to the robber chief, killed his retainers, and brought in himself as a prisoner. He was afterwards tried, and sentenced to be blown from a gun, and the sentence was immediately carried out.

From the Bihar districts north of the Ganges, the rebels, not meeting with the sympathy they expected, seem completely to have retired.

In Shahabad alone do they now maintain any footing, but here they are still strong, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of Arrah and the country south of it. Lately they for a short time occupied, and cut off the communication in, the Grand Trunk road between Benares and Sasaram ; but they were speedily dislodged from the position they had taken up here. They have carried their marauding expeditions to within 5 or 6 miles of the station of Arrah, and on one occasion had the hardihood to enter that station and burn down a bungalow. They were pursued by a small party of Cavalry under Lieutenant Beadon, and eventually by a body of upwards of 200 men consisting of detachments of H. M.'s 10th and 35th regiments, the Bengal Police Battalion and 3rd Sikh Cavalry under the personal command of Lieutenant Colonel Walter, commanding at Arrah. They came up with the enemy, estimated at about 500, in the village of Sarthua, from which they were dislodged with some loss, the only casualties in our side being two privates of H. M.'s 10th Foot, slightly wounded, and two deaths from sun-stroke. The village, which belonged to the rebel chief Ummer Singh, was destroyed. This occurred on the 7th of July.

I ought before this to have mentioned that General Lugard, having been obliged to leave on sick certificate, the whole of the military arrangements for the expulsion of the rebels has been placed in the hands of Brigadier Douglas, and special measures have been taken for the protection of the Grand Trunk road.

Mr. Samuells has issued highly judicious orders for the reorganisation of the police, and, as far as possible, for co-operation with the military, and I trust the time is not far distant when the whole Province of Bihar will be restored to its ordinary tranquillity, though it will probably be some time before we can expect a return of that confidence in our prestige which has been thus rudely shaken.

I shall no longer delay the conclusion of this paper, which has been held back in the hope that circumstances would enable me to report the final withdrawal of the rebels and the return of peace to the Province ; but I must not omit to record the names of those under my jurisdiction who have been prominently brought forward in the course of the later events.

Of the ability, zeal and judgment of Mr. Samuells it is not easy to say too much. Accepting the appointment of Commissioner at a most critical time, and under circumstances which increased the difficulties of that arduous position, he has throughout conducted matters with a tact and discretion, and at the same time an untiring activity and energy.

which have merited my warmest approbation. A reference to the narrative will show the extreme difficulties which this Division has presented, —a Division which internally as well as externally from its position in the map, as well as from the character of its semi-military population, has been subjected far more to disturbing causes than any other Division in Bengal, and, if a part of this Province is still unhappily convulsed, it is, I am bound to say, from no failure on the part of Mr. Samuells to make use of such resources as were at his disposal. He may point with just pride to the tranquillity that was maintained through almost the whole of his Division from October in last year to April in this, and even now to the pacific state of the city of Patna itself, which was held to be a hot-bed of intrigue and conspiracy, but which, with little but the ordinary means at his disposal, he has maintained undisturbed, even though marauding parties of rebels approached to within 10 miles of its walls.

Mr. Samuells has, from time to time, brought prominently forward the names of the civil officers in the various districts who have particularly distinguished themselves, as well as of the indigo planters and others who have come forward to the assistance of Government. Those who did good service in the earlier part of the rebellion have been already conspicuously noticed in the part of the narrative which refers to that time.

Mr. McDonell, Magistrate of Saran, was specially appointed to accompany the force which, under Brigadier Douglas and General Lugard, crossed into the Shahabad district from Azimghar. Of his services the Commissioner speaks most highly, and I am sure that he deserves all that can be said of him. His assistance in crossing the troops into the district was most valuable. He was with General Sir E. Lugard during the whole of the operations, and always took the field with the force. I have reason to know that the General entertained a very high opinion of him.

Mr. Richardson, Collector of Saran, who also conducted the duties of Magistrate during Mr. McDonell's absence, has, on this as on other occasions, proved himself a most efficient public officer. He was very active and successful in the pursuit and apprehension of mutineers, and in every way justifies the high encomium passed upon him by the Commissioner.

Mr. Atherton, the Judge of Saran, has also been very useful and energetic since his return to the district.

Mr. E. McDonell, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent in Saran, has most conspicuously distinguished himself from first to last during the whole course of the disturbances. Not only has he been most active and

energetic in his own particular department, but, in addition to other services which have been already noticed in this narrative, he has raised and superintended the drill of the Siwan Levy which, under Captain Miles, has done good service in Saran. He has more than confirmed the good opinion that was always entertained of him.

Mr. Pughe, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, has also merited and received high commendation for the manner in which his duties have been performed under circumstances of great difficulty.

Mr. Brodhurst, Magistrate of Arrah, has exerted himself very strenuously during the occupation of his district by the enemy, and both he and Mr. Colvin, his Assistant, (who, it will be remembered, took part in the defence of Arrah) have been more than once in the field in the course of the late events.

Mr. E. Baker, Deputy Magistrate of Sasaram, has been obliged to take temporary leave on sick certificate. In another narrative (that of the Chota Nagpur Division) he has been mentioned as accompanying an expedition into Palamau. He has several times taken an active part in operations in the field, and has conducted his civil duties, which have been very onerous, to the entire satisfaction of the Commissioner and myself.

Mr. Dampier, the Magistrate of Tirhut, has received frequent and honorable mention from the Commissioner. He is a most energetic officer.

The services of Mr. Money, Magistrate of Gaya, have been prominently brought forward in the early part of the narrative, and, during the late partial occupation of his district by the rebels, he has again distinguished himself. It has been noticed that he took a personal and active part in the pursuit of Jodhur Singh, both with Captain Young and Captain Rattray, and was present in the action at Kasma.

The names of the following gentlemen have been specially mentioned by the officers in whose districts they reside :—

In Tirhut, Mr. Hudson, of Serya factory, Mr. Charles Gale, of Deorea, with Messrs. J. Gale and W. Howell, his assistants.

In Motihari, Mr. J. Slade, of Rajpur factory, and Mr. Alexander Urquhart. All these gentlemen have been most active in procuring information, watching the ferries, and exerting themselves in every way. Mr. Urquhart also furnished a body of peons to assist the police, and gave quarters for two days to a detachment of the marine brigade. They have all received my warm acknowledgments.

Mr. Dampier also mentioned the names of three of his subordinate native officials as deserving of great credit, *viz.*, Keola Put, *daroga* of Pusa, Keola Parshad *jamadar*, Dani Lal, *naib nazir* of the *saujdari* Court.

The services rendered by the Rajas of Deo and Hatwa have been so frequently mentioned that it is unnecessary further to allude to them. The Bettia Raja has also afforded considerable assistance, and suitable acknowledgments have been made to all these noblemen.

In conclusion I feel that I cannot too often repeat my very high opinion of the services rendered by Captain Rattray, his officers and his Battalion. To dilate on these services is unnecessary. The facts speak for themselves. I can only trust that they will receive the rewards which their bravery, endurance and successes have so richly merited.

CHOTA NAGPUR AND CUTTACK.

During the whole period of the outbreaks, the Division of Chota Nagpur has been a source of anxiety and uneasiness, and from time to time of embarrassment and difficulty, and even of actual danger. In fact no Division in the whole of Bengal has been subject to such continued disturbance as this Province. It extends along the whole length of the Grand Trunk road from Raniganj almost to Shergati, a distance of not less than 100 miles, and its scattered and not easily accessible stations were garrisoned by native troops who, in almost every instance, broke out into open mutiny, the stations being abandoned, the jails broken open, and bands of convicts scattered over the face of the country, the treasures plundered, and the lives of the European officers only saved by timely flight. Its population is composed chiefly of half savages, ignorant and highly excitable, with a number of petty chiefs able at any time to collect a rabble round them, and now formidable from the disaffection of the very troops intended to keep them in check.

In Palamau, in Chaibassa, and in Sambalpur there have been rebellions, the dying embers of which are still feebly smouldering, and which have given occasion for the display, in many instances, of native loyalty and attachment, and of European courage and conduct.

In the following narrative I shall, for the sake of convenience, associate the Division of Cuttack with that of Chota Nagpur. Cuttack itself may be said to have been altogether unaffected by the recent outbreak, excepts perhaps on its very borders, where, though the boundaries of the two Divisions (Cuttack and Chota Nagpur) may be geographically defined, the tribes and their interests are so mixed up that it is difficult to distinguish between them. Besides which for some few months the district of Sambalpur, which belonged to the Chota Nagpur Commissionership, has, owing to the difficulty of access from the north, and the great amount of work which pressed on the Commissioner, been attached to the Cuttack Division. Very lately, and probably as a temporary arrangement, a Special Commissioner has been appointed to

Sambalpur, who, with reference to the still disturbed state of the district, exercises the chief authority both civil and military.

So much being premised, I proceed to give a sketch of the events in Chota Nagpur and Cuttack as if they formed a single Division.

At the commencement of the outbreak, the various stations of Hazaribagh, Ranchi, (or Doranda), Purulia, Chaibassa and Sambalpur were occupied by detachments of the Ramghar Battalion, which consisted of a full corps of infantry with cavalry and artillery attached. This, though a local corps, was composed, to a great extent, of Hindustanis, in fact of the same material as the regiments of the line. There were, moreover, two detachments of the 7th and 8th N. I. at Ranchi and Hazaribagh respectively. From the former place the detachment of the 7th was sent away before any outbreak occurred, and the uneasiness which their presence had caused was temporarily allayed. Little confidence was placed in the Ramghar Battalion's loyalty, which was supposed to depend on the fidelity or otherwise of the troops at Dinapore, whilst the artillery at Ranchi was openly distrusted even by the commanding officer. At Hazaribagh in particular great fears were entertained. There was a treasury, with upwards of a *lakh* of rupees in it, and two jails containing 900 prisoners. No European troops could be spared either to replace or disarm these troops, and, beyond temporary additions to the Police force at the various stations, nothing could be done. No overt act was, however, committed till the 30th of July, when the troops at Hazaribagh, consisting chiefly of two companies of the 8th N. I., heard of the events at Dinapore, mutinied, plundered the treasury and released the prisoners, and, after destroying a great deal of private property, left the station. The residents saved their lives by timely flight.

Meanwhile a detachment of the Ramghar Battalion, with two guns, under Lieutenant Graham, had been sent from Doranda to attack the two companies of the 8th; but, having received on the road the news of their mutiny, they also broke into open revolt, and seizing the guns, ammunition and elephants which accompanied them marched back to Ranchi with avowed hostile intentions towards the British residents there. No doubt existing that the head quarters of the corps stationed at Doranda* would join them the Commissioner, Captain Dalton, with the other Europeans reluctantly quitted the station, which they had not left an hour before the mutineers arriving, having burnt down some of the bungalows, took possession of the treasury, containing about a *lakh* of rupees, released the prisoners, and fired cannon at the Church. The mutineers were joined by the troops at the military station of Doranda.

* Ranchi is the civil station, Doranda the military cantonment, separated the one from the other by a distance of 3 or 4 miles.

The cavalry portion of the force refused to join the mutineers. Those with Lieutenant Graham, under *jamadar* Amiadin Khan, stood by that officer, and accompanied him to Hazaribagh, where also a few men of the infantry, with 2 native officers, had joined him ; whilst a detachment at Barhi on the Grand Trunk road, under *naib risaldar* Shaikh Mulla Baksh were preserving order and doing good service.

Captain Dalton retreated on Hazaribagh, and, with the small force at his command, proceeded to restore order at that place, recovering plundered property, recapturing prisoners, arresting suspected persons, and reopening the courts and bazars.

The Ramghar Raja both now and afterwards rendered efficient aid to Government, for which he has received my thanks. Captain Dalton's conduct merited my high approval.

At Purulia events of a similar character took place on the 5th of August. Here too was a treasury, containing upwards of a *lakh* of rupees, and a jail with between 200 and 300 prisoners, and, when it appeared that the outbreak was imminent, the European officers retired to Raniganj.

Immediate measures were taken for the protection of the Grand Trunk road ; a part of the wing of Rattray's Police Battalion was moved up from Suri, and a company of H.M.'s 35th was sent to Raniganj.

Whilst such was the state of affairs in the districts lying along and near the Grand Trunk road, great uneasiness was felt at Chaibassa and Sambalpur. The principal Assistant Commissioner in charge of the former station, on hearing of the mutiny at Ranchi, unnecessarily abandoned his station, and placed himself under the protection of the Raja of Seraikhela, who furnished him with an escort to proceed to Raniganj, and the Raja himself took prompt, and, for the time, successful measures for the protection of Chaibassa.

In consequence of this abandonment of his post, this officer was subsequently removed, and Lieutenant Birch was appointed in his room. It appears that, previously to his departure, the Principal Assistant Commissioner had committed the care of the district to Chakardhari Sing, the Raja of Seraikhela, and had issued summonses to the various petty chiefs, to send in their separate contingents. There was no backwardness shown except on the part of the Porahat Raja who, from jealousy of the Seraikhela chief, refused to send in his quota, or even to acknowledge the genuineness of the summons. Had there been any European officer present, there can be little doubt that the irregular force thus collected would have been sufficient to prevent any attempt at mutiny ; but, with no one to control them, petty jealousies broke out amongst the retainers of the various chiefs, and, thus disunited, they did not

venture to act against the disciplined sepoys. But it was not till upwards of a month after the Doranda mutiny, and when emissaries from that place had been sent, returned, and again been sent to Chaibassa, that the sepoys, persuaded that the British rule was at an end, at last in the beginning of September plundered the treasury, broke open the jail, and marching out of the station, after failing to cross the Sangai, which was swollen by recent rain, and being subjected to constant harassing attacks from bands of Kols, who followed them and cut up all stragglers, they finally accepted the invitation of the Porahat Raja, and placed themselves and the treasure they had with them under his protection. It may very reasonably be supposed that, had not the station been abandoned by the chief authority, this detachment, like that at Sambalpur, would have remained staunch to the present hour.

The subsequent proceedings of the Porahat Raja, with the effects they have produced, will form a prominent feature of my narrative; but I must now return to the relation of contemporary events in other parts of the Division.

It was for a long time believed that the companies of the 8th N. I., which mutinied at Hazaribagh, had gone off in the direction of Sambalpur, and the Commissioner of Cuttack was directed to send a portion of the Madras troops, stationed at Cuttack, towards that station. The report, however, turned out incorrect, and up to the end of August Captain Leigh, the principal Assistant Commissioner, was able to report all quiet.

The *subadar* in command at this post, Shaik Panch Kowri Khan, received a letter from the native officer who had assumed command at Ranchi, directing him to move to the latter station with the treasure, releasing the convicts in the jail to act as coolies. The *subadar*, however, communicated the letter to Captain Leigh, and was using every exertion to keep his detachment faithful.

On the 13th August Captain Dalton found it necessary to fall back from Hazaribagh to Bagoda. He was informed that reinforcements would immediately be sent up.

On the 18th of August I caused martial law to be proclaimed in all the districts forming the Chota Nagpur Division.

On the 28th of August the Commissioner re-occupied Hazaribagh with 150 Sikhs of Rattray's Battalion. Immediate measures were also taken for the re-occupation of Purulia.

The officers of the Ramghar Battalion were directed to employ themselves in raising a police corps in the Chota Nagpur agency, and I may add here that the experiment seems to have been very successful. The men entertained are Kols and Sonthals, and, in a recent letter received

from the Commissioner, he speaks most highly of this new levy, and of the great credit due to Lieutenants Reeves and Middleton for the manner in which they have brought into a high state of discipline these men who, but a few months since, were untaught savages.

The Ranchi mutineers were still at that station. Some disputes had arisen, and the men who had been enlisted in the Province were not disposed to agree with the Hindustanis. Hitherto no division of the treasure had taken place, and these native officers, who had their houses in the Province, seemed to wish to compromise themselves as little as possible ; and in this state matters remained till the 11th September, when, after having plundered the town and destroyed some of the public buildings, they marched with 4 guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition and plunder towards Tikhu *ghat*, apparently with the intention of making their way through Palamau and joining Koer Sing, who was at this time supposed to be at or near Rhotas.

The troopers took this opportunity of making their escape, and joined their officers at Hazaribagh ; only 4 accompanied the rebels.

Meanwhile a Column under Colonel Fischer, of the Madras Army, had been sent up the Grand Trunk road, with the view of clearing the road and of acting against the mutineers wherever they might be found.

A portion of this Column, consisting of 180 of H. M.'s 53rd, and a wing of the 27th Madras N. I., with two guns, was now detached under Major English and marched towards Ranchi through Hazaribagh, whilst Colonel Fischer proceeded up the Grand Trunk road so as to be in a position to act in the Palamau direction should it prove necessary.

Major English, accompanied by Captain Dalton, the Commissioner, reached Ranchi on the 23rd, where less destruction than was expected was found to have taken place ; the records had been almost entirely destroyed, but the public buildings had sustained little damage, and order and confidence were soon restored ; but Major English, not considering himself warranted by his instructions in any pursuit of the mutineers, returned towards Hazaribagh *en route* to the Grand Trunk road.

On the 11th September Captain G. N. Oakes, accompanied by a party of volunteer Sikhs, who had been taken from various corps of the line and embodied, re-occupied Purulia without opposition. The Raja of Jalda, a prisoner in the Hazaribagh jail, had been released by the mutineers, and had made use of his liberty to close the passes between Ranchi and Purulia so as to prevent the mutineers from moving in that direction. He now presented himself to Captain Oakes, to whom he had furnished a small Contingent. He was allowed to be at large for the present (having executed an agreement to appear whenever called for) ; a small sum was advanced him to enable him to entertain men to keep

the *ghats* closed against mutineers and marauders, and a promise was made that his case should be favourably represented to Government. He has since received a remission of his original sentence.

Lieutenant Birch, who had accompanied Captain Oakes thus far, proceeded from hence accompanied by the faithful Raja of Seraikhela, the *zamindar* of Karsawa, and 3,000 Kols, to Chaibassa, which he reached on the 16th September ; and thus by the end of September all the stations which had been abandoned were re-occupied.

Slight disturbances had taken place in various parts of the district in which the actors were either escaped convicts or bands of marauding Sonthals, nor was much difficulty found in coercing them. The Sonthal raids were chiefly confined to the country near Hazaribagh and the eastern districts. A column, under Brigadier Berkely, surprised a large body of them near Dumri on the Grand Trunk road. Lieutenant Graham, with a small detachment, twice attacked them successfully in the neighbourhood of Narainpur, and Major Simpson, with a body of Sikhs, inflicted some chastisement on a noted Sonthal chief.

Some rather serious disturbances were said to have taken place in the part of the district bordering on Pachete, and, as will be seen hereafter, the Pachete *zamindar* rendered himself liable to suspicion, and was placed under arrest previous to being brought to trial on serious charges.

To return to the Ranchi mutineers. Having in vain attempted to make their way through the Thibu pass, they suddenly turned northward towards the Grand Trunk road, and reached Chattra about the 30th September. Here they halted for a couple of days, and Major English, (whose instructions were positive to lose no time in returning to the Grand Trunk road, but who had agreed, at the urgent representation of the Commissioner, to take the route from Hazaribagh *via* Chattra to Shergati) with 150 of H. M.'s 53rd and 150 of Rattray's Sikhs under Lieutenant Earle, was able to overtake and attack them here. He found them posted with 600 men and 4 guns, and after a severe struggle he succeeded in capturing the guns one after another, and completely defeated and dispersed the enemy, who broke and fled, leaving their ammunition, treasure and camp equipage and the whole of their plunder. Their loss in killed and wounded was said to be upwards of 150. Our loss amounted to 56 killed and wounded, of whom not less than 46 were Europeans. Two of the principal mutineers, *subadar* Jaimangal Pandy and *subadar* Nadir Ali, were taken in the jungles, tried and hanged. The conspicuous gallantry displayed by sepoy Uthum Sing, of the Bengal police battalion, was rewarded by his promotion to a *havildarship* in the field by Major English. The appointment was afterwards confirmed by the Government.

Chota Nagpur was thus cleared of the main body of the mutineers early in October. The stations which had been abandoned, viz., Hazaribagh, Ranchi (and Doranda), Purulia and Chaibassa were all re-occupied, whilst Sambalpur remained in the occupation of the principal Assistant Commissioner, Captain Leigh.

With the exception of some petty disturbances likely to arise from the state of anarchy caused by the mutinies, and the consequent necessary abandonment of the stations, the northern part of the Division might now be considered manageable with the means at the disposal of the Commissioner and his subordinates ; but in the southern portion considerable uncertainty still prevailed. Captain Oakes reported from Purulia that the Sonthals in Manbhum were in a state of high excitement, whilst Nilmani Sing Deo, the *zamindar* of Pachete, who has been before alluded to, was said to be arming his retainers, and in other ways assuming a warlike attitude. In Singbhum also the Porahat Raja seemed likely to give trouble as I shall shortly have occasion to detail, and it was thought advisable, with reference to the difficulty of communication between the northern and southern parts of the Division, to place the districts of Manbhum and Singbhum under the temporary charge of the Commissioner of Burdwan, whilst, at a later date, Sambalpur was also, as a temporary arrangement, made over to the Commissioner of Cuttack.

I may dismiss the district of Manbhum by saying that a wing of the Shekawati Battalion, having been placed under my orders, was sent into that district, and, backed by these troops, the officiating Commissioner found little difficulty in arresting the Pachete *zamindar* who, unprepared to resist the force sent to coerce him, surrendered to Colonel Foster in the early part of November. His fort was searched, and 4 pieces of artillery, with other munitions of war, were found in it. Since his capture Manbhum has been undisturbed except by occasional *dacoities*.

Singbhum and Sambalpur will require much more extended notice, and indeed in neither of these districts can it be said that tranquillity is completely restored even up to the time at which I am writing. It will be remembered that, on the eventual outbreak of the detachment at Chaibassa, the Porahat Raja had invited the sepoys to join him, which they had done, making over to him the greater part of the money taken from the Government treasury. On the arrival of Lieutenant Birch at Chaibassa, he peremptorily called on the Raja to deliver himself up, restore the Government treasure, and make over to him the rebellious sepoys. After numerous professions of his intention to do as he was ordered, and after wavering for some time, he at length, instead of surrendering himself, as he had been ordered, to the principal Assistant

Commissioner at Chaibassa, marched off to Ranchi, and there made over to the Commissioner, Captain Dalton, the whole of the plundered treasure, with 100 sepoys as prisoners. He himself was reprobated for his disobedience of orders, and directed at once to return to Chaibassa and give himself up to Lieutenant Birch for trial. It is as well to mention here that the 100 sepoys made over to the Commissioner, having been tried and found more or less guilty, were sentenced—43 to be hung, and the remainder to transportation or imprisonment for various terms. The sentences were carried out.

In the meantime the Porahat Raja excused himself on various pretences from presenting himself to Lieutenant Birch. He was said to be completely in the hands of his *dewan*, a man named Juggoo, for whose apprehension, on account of previous delinquencies, a reward had been before offered by the Government. This man was reported to be doing his best to excite the Kols to rise, and using all his influence with the Raja to prevent his submitting himself to Lieutenant Birch.

The Raja, however, still continued to profess loyalty and his intention of keeping his pledges, and, as all seemed quiet in the district, the principal men having renewed their submission, and the people being, to all appearances, peaceably inclined and engaged in gathering in their harvest, Lieutenant Birch, (who had, in the meantime, been reinforced by 100 Sikhs under Captain Montgomery), for some time took no active steps against the Raja, who, though now disobedient to orders, seemed entitled to some consideration as having proved his sincerity by giving up the mutineers and treasure ; but at length, towards the end of November, perceiving that there was little chance of the Raja voluntarily surrendering himself, and being apprehensive of the machinations of Juggoo *dewan*, Lieutenant Birch determined on an expedition against the rebel force, which had, by this time, collected about the Raja. On his way to the position they had taken up, he surprised and captured Juggoo *dewan*, (who was summarily tried, sentenced and hanged), and was completely successful in a well-managed attack on the Raja's stronghold, though the Raja himself had just time to effect his escape into the neighbouring jungle. Here again the Chief of Seraikhela afforded great assistance to Lieutenant Birch, as did the *samindars* and petty chiefs, all of whom have since been rewarded.

Again for some little time tranquillity appeared to be established ; but an uneasy feeling was abroad—the Raja Arjun Sing was still at large, his influence amongst the Kols was great, and by the end of December Mr. Lushington, the late officiating Commissioner of Burdwan, who had been temporarily appointed Special Commissioner for the districts

of Manbhûm and Singbhûm, had to report the existence of a widespread insurrection amongst the various tribes in Singbhûm.

The only force at the disposal of the Commissioner at this time was a body of volunteer Sikhs under Captain Hale.

On the 25th of December Captain Hale's party, supported by the followers of the Seraikhela Raja, attacked and dispersed a large assemblage of Kols and others led on by a brother of the Porahat Raja; but, though our measures were so far successful, it now appeared evident that without reinforcements the insurrection could not be effectually quelled, and I was again permitted to avail myself of the services of the Shekawati Battalion under Colonel Foster, who was at this time at Raniganj. He was directed to move on Chaibassa as soon as arrangements for his march could be made.

Meanwhile Arjun Sing and his brother were exerting themselves to the utmost to raise the whole Kolhan in insurrection, and, though a large proportion of the Kols were still well affected towards Government, a formidable opposition was organised.

On the 14th January the Commissioner, accompanied by the Senior Assistant Commissioner, together with 50 or 60 Sikhs under Captain Hale, went out with the intention of punishing the murderers of a *jamadar* and 2 *barkandazes* at a place called Bar Pir. Having succeeded in capturing 2 of the petty *sardars* who had been concerned in this outrage, they were preparing to return to the station, when they were informed of the presence of a body of hostile Kols in their immediate neighbourhood.

An attack was at once decided on. Advancing to the bank of the Mogra river they were opposed by a small body of insurgents, whom they easily dispersed, and, having destroyed a village which they had reached, they were on their way back by a different route, when, on crossing the deep bed of a dry *nala* they found it swarming with the enemy, who, thus ambushed, attacked them suddenly with a shower of arrows, and, to the number of not less than 3000 or 4000, regardless of their own losses, followed the little band for some distance, not relinquishing the pursuit till they emerged from the jungle into the open plain. Not an officer escaped unhurt. Captain Hale, commanding the Sikhs, was wounded in 4 places, Lieutenant Birch's arm was pinned to his side by an arrow, whilst Mr. Lushington and Dr. Hayes, the only others present, were also, though less severely, wounded. Of the 50 Sikhs, who all behaved most gallantly, 25 were more or less severely wounded, one mortally, and one man was killed. The enemy are said to have left 150 dead on the field.

On return to the camp it was determined at once to return to Chai-

bassa, lest the enemy should cut off the retreat, in which case, hampered as they were with wounded and straitened for provisions, they would have found it almost impossible to force their way to the station.

In the absence of all other carriage for the wounded it was necessary to take the elephants, which carried their tent equipage, which was, therefore, unavoidably abandoned ; but which, it is as well to mention here, was subsequently recovered.

The insurgent Kols pursued the party for a distance of 7 miles, but were kept in check by the steady behaviour of the unwounded men, who protected the rear, and the station was reached without further casualty.

About the same time an attack was made on Chakradarpur, the residence of the Porahat Raja, but at this time occupied by the friendly chief of Seraikhela who, though protected by a force of 300 matchlockmen and two guns, yielded to a very inferior force and pusillanimously fled.

Both these affairs tended naturally to encourage the rebels and temporarily to weaken our prestige with the more loyal part of the population, yet, notwithstanding this, the insurrection seemed almost entirely confined to those Kols who had in former times been retainers of the Rajas of Porahat, and even of these the inhabitants of the southern portion of the district were disheartened by the loss they had sustained in the action near the Mogra, which, though we had suffered severely, had been still more disastrous to them ; but, on the other hand, the more westerly population were animated by the easy victory they had gained over the Seraikhela chief.

By the 17th January, Colonel Foster having made rapid marches, had reached Chaibassa with the Shekawati Battalion, and in concert with the Commissioner was taking means for the pacification of the district ; and, with reference to the more actively disturbed parts, it was determined to make the first move in that direction.

At Chakradarpur a thousand men were said to be collected. These fled on the approach of Colonel Foster, and the village was destroyed. From hence the force proceeded to Porahat, burning many villages and seizing a large quantity of grain and cattle.

But in the southern part of the district the Kols were again collecting in considerable numbers, and a large force had assembled at the Siringsella Pass. Colonel Foster, who had in the meantime been reinforced by a body of 50 European sailors, which I had sent up from Midnapore, by a judicious disposition of his forces succeeded in driving the enemy from the positions they had taken up in the jungles and hills, killing a considerable number of his opponents, whilst his own casualties consisted of 7 wounded.

It is unnecessary to give the details of the different expeditions. With

the exception mentioned, little or no resistance was offered ; but a severe example, especially in such times as these, was called for. The Raja and his people had provoked their own punishment. Numerous proclamations had been published, and many efforts had been made, through the Raja's own private friends and connections, to induce him to submit himself to the Government ; in particular a notice was issued and conveyed to the Raja in his jungly hiding place, that if he failed to deliver himself up within one month his estates would be confiscated ; but a conciliatory policy had proved ineffectual, and, to ensure present safety and future tranquillity, stern retributive measures were demanded, and the desired effect was produced. The petty chiefs, seeing that we had the power to coerce them, soon commenced to make their submission, and the more readily when it was found that submission was followed by forgiveness.

The Raja, however, though towards the expiration of the time allowed him for consideration he seemed inclined to enter into some negotiation with Mr. Lushington, allowed the month to pass without surrendering himself, and, after a still further term given him in the hope of his yielding had also gone by, the Commissioner declared his estates forfeit. I may add that up to the present time he is still a fugitive in the jungles, though Captain Dalton, who has resumed the Commissionership of Manbhum and Singbhum, has lately expressed a hope that he will at length be persuaded to surrender himself. His obstinacy has been most pertinacious ; but, if he should ultimately come in, there are obvious circumstances in his case which will cause him to be mercifully treated.

I need add little more to this portion of my narrative, except to say that, when Mr. Lushington made over charge to Captain Dalton, tranquillity seemed to be in a great measure restored. The services of the Shekawati Battalion were dispensed with, as far as this district was concerned, at the end of February, and the Battalion was sent to Sambalpur.

Some uneasiness, however, continued to exist in the district. A strong feeling of hostility seemed to be entertained by the Kols against our ally the Raja of Seraikhela, whilst the Porahat Raja, urged, it is said, by the evil counsels of the *dewan*, Rughoo Deo, still refused to deliver himself up to the authorities, though petitions have been received from him professing his willingness to surrender. Certain of the insurgent Kols still cling to his fortunes. In March an attack was made on the camp of the Assistant Commissioner by a body of Kols estimated at 2,000, and, though they were repulsed without difficulty, they succeeded in driving off a quantity of cattle then grazing in the jungle.

In April another attack resulted in the defeat of the insurgents by a part of the Naval Brigade at Chakradarpur and a few Seraikhela men. On this occasion thirty of the enemy were taken prisoners.

Again, towards the end of May a gallant affair took place under Mr. Welden, 1st officer of the Naval Brigade, who, with Mr. Scott, the 2nd Officer, and 26 men of the Brigade, a small body of the Seraikhela men and two *sawars*, was sent to punish the insurgent Kols for an attack on some friendly villages. After having destroyed 3 of the enemy's camps with little opposition, the party was gradually drawn on to a rocky basir covered with dense jungle. Here they found themselves surrounded by the enemy, who from the heights poured down a shower of arrows and matchlock balls. Mr. Welden made good his retreat till, reaching the open country, he faced about and drove his opponents back, killing some 30 of them and wounding many more, himself having only one man severely wounded.

On the 9th of June some thousands of Kols surrounded the camp of the Naval Brigade at Chakradarpur, and Captain Moncrieff, the Assistant Commissioner, who was returning from Chaibassa, whither he had been to see the Commissioner, had to fight his way into the camp, 3 out of his 4 *sawars* being wounded.

On the 10th and 11th they were successfully attacked by Mr. Welden, and on the 12th, on the arrival of reinforcements under Lieutenant Reeves, they made off. A pursuit was attempted, but was soon abandoned on account of the extreme heat.

Since this, an addition of 50 men, with 2 more howitzers, has been made to the Naval Brigade at Chaibassa. Captain Moncrieff has lately succeeded in destroying one of their camps, and he has, moreover, made seizure of immense stores of grain in the jungles.

The services of Mr. Lushington being no longer required in Singbhum he returned to Calcutta in February. I have great gratification in recording that both in Manbhum and Singbhum he has conducted the charge entrusted to him with great tact and judgment, and has accomplished all that was possible with the means at his disposal.

Lieutenant Birch is an officer of great energy, and has displayed great courage, ability and firmness during the whole time he has been employed in Singbhum.

The services of the Seraikhela chief have already been noticed, and Mr. Lushington has brought prominently forward the conduct of the Karsawa *samindar*, who had been very forward in rendering assistance to Government.

Earlier in the narrative I have said that all remained quiet in Sambalpur up to the end of August; but even in that month rumours

of insurrectionary movements had begun to spread, and, though no actual outbreak occurred for some considerable time, yet the storm which afterwards disturbed the peace of this district had already begun to gather.

Early in September two companies of Madras troops had been ordered up from Cuttack to Sambalpur by Mr. Cockburn, the Commissioner, partly with reference to any outbreak that might be contemplated by the detachment of the Ramghar Battalion at that station, and partly with a view to the prevention of disturbance in the district from other causes, and this judicious movement was probably the means of saving Sambalpur.

The ordinary police was also increased, and sanction was given to the raising of semi-military police, consisting of 80 men, with an adequate proportion of officers. The detachment of the Ramghar Battalion, 150 foot and 12 horsemen, remained perfectly staunch, and did good service through the whole of the troubled times.

It is now necessary to mention what were the chief disturbing causes.

Amongst the prisoners released from Hazaribagh jail were two brothers—Sarundar Sahai and Uulant Sahai. They were related to one of the late Rajas of Sambalpur, and were under sentence of imprisonment for life, having been concerned in a serious affray in which some lives had been lost. These men, soon after their release, entered the Sambalpur district, where a number of followers soon collected round them, and for a long time rumours were rife that they pretended to the Sambalpur Raj, and were assembling their retainers with the purpose of making an attack on Sambalpur.

By the beginning of October they came into the immediate neighbourhood of the station, and the Senior Assistant Commissioner, Captain Leigh, offered a reward for their apprehension. In the middle of that month they entered the town of Sambalpur, and Sarundar Sahai, who had with him a rabble of some 1,400 or 1,600 men, sent to ask Captain Leigh to grant him an interview, stipulating for a safe conduct. Captain Leigh received him on these terms, and he then assured that officer that he had no intention of aspiring to the Raj, that his only object was to induce Government to cancel the remaining portion of his and his brother's imprisonment. Captain Leigh promised to represent the matter to Government, and in the meantime Sarundar Sahai promised to disperse his followers and remain at Sambalpur, whilst Uulant Sahai was permitted to reside in the village of Khinda, a little distance off. There was no great gathering in the district; the Ghanoteas of the different villages had, it is true, given the brothers assistance, but this might have

been as much from fear as from any other cause, and till towards the end of the month no general feeling of disaffection appeared to be excited. Then, however, suspicions began to be felt, in particular the Ghanotea of Kolabera was distrusted, and spies were sent to watch his movements.

On the 31st of October Sarundar Sahai made his escape from Sambalpur and joined his brother at Khinda, where 1400 men are now said to be assembled.

A further reinforcement of two companies of the 40th Madras Native Infantry had been despatched under Captain Knocker from Cuttack for Sambalpur on the 10th October, and with these were sent 50 men of the Orissa *paik* companies, who were to undertake the station duties and so release the regular troops for more active service, and very shortly after, on the arrival of Lieutenant Hadow, of the Madras Artillery, with some light mountain guns, the Commissioner induced Major Bates to send another company under Lieutenant Hadow in charge of these guns. This officer joined by forced marches, and took part in the proceedings hereafter recorded.

On the escape of Sarundar Sahai, Captain Knocker, of the 40th Madras Native Infantry, was ordered to proceed against Khinda and Kolabera. In the latter place, which he reached on the 5th November, he destroyed the house of the Ghanotea, but he failed to capture Sarundar Sahai and his brother at Khinda, though he found their houses loopholed and prepared for defence. In only one place (Jhinghati) did he find any assemblage of armed men ; their numbers were concealed by the jungle, but he killed 5 or 6 of them. Matters, however, had now assumed a serious aspect, and many of the principal *samindars* were said to be collecting their *paiks* for the purpose of resisting the Government. Indeed, the whole country in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur was now temporarily in the hands of the insurgents, who were posted in strength at a distance of not more than 3 or 4 miles from the station, and nightly fired on our pickets. Had it not been for the timely arrival of these various reinforcements and more especially of the guns, whose power and effect were on more than one occasion successfully exhibited by Lieutenant Hadow, the authority of Government over a wide extent of country would have been utterly lost, and its recovery would have been a matter of no small difficulty.

About this time Dr. Moore and Mr. Apothecary Hanson, of the Madras Army, were ordered up from Ganjam to Sambalpur to afford medical aid to the troops at that station. They had reached Rampur, the residence of the Rehracole Raja, a distance of 4 marches from Sambalpur, and from hence wrote to Captain Leigh for an escort ; but unfortunately, having started without waiting for this escort, and un-

mindful of the warnings of the Raja, they were both attacked separately on the road, Dr. Moore was murdered ; Mr. Hanson escaped, and, after wandering about in the jungles for some time without food, he on the second day met with the party of *sebundis* which had been sent out to escort them, and returned to the Raja of Rehracole, by whom he was kindly received. The *sebundis* of the escort, who had behaved very well, were rewarded by Captain Leigh.

So bold had the rebels now become that they even ventured to attack Captain Leigh, (who, hearing of their assembling, had moved out with a considerable body of the Madras Corps to support the *sebundis*), and under cover of the jungle succeeded in killing and wounding several men of his detachment, whilst, from the dense nature of the jungle, retaliation was for the present impossible.

By the beginning of December the *dak* road to Bombay was obstructed ; two of the *dak* stations had been burnt down, whilst large bodies were collecting in various directions and committing excesses of all sorts. Mr. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Cuttack, now despatched to Sambalpur the remainder of the 40th Madras N. I., under the command of Major Bates, and with him the guns and artillerymen stationed at Cuttack, whilst he sent off an urgent requisition of Ganjam for a portion of the *sebundis* stationed there.

Meanwhile, I made a strong representation to the Supreme Government, in consequence of which orders were sent to the Government of Madras to take immediate measures for strengthening Sambalpur. I also, in anticipation of the sanction of Government, authorised the formation of two companies of *sebundis* for service in that district. The Governor-General-in-Council approved of this and Captain Bird, of the 40th Madras N. I., was appointed to command the Levy.

Captain Leigh, the Senior Assistant Commissioner, about this time applied to be relieved from his appointment. His resignation was accepted ; but I must add that he remained at Sambalpur, doing good service, till the arrival of Colonel Foster in the district.

It was at this time too that the arrangement took place for the temporary transfer of Sambalpur to the Commissionership of Cuttack, and Mr. Cockburn assumed official charge on the 19th December, though, as will have appeared from the narrative, he had been practically in charge of the district for some time before.

He now determined on at once proceeding to Sambalpur in person, and accordingly started for that place, accompanied by a wing of the Madras Native Infantry and a detachment of artillery, whilst he called on the Rajas of the Tributary *Mahals* to furnish their separate contingents of *paiks*.

On the 29th December Captain Wood arrived at Sambalpur from Nagpur, with a squadron of the Nagpur irregular horse, and next morning, having marched out with 73 of his own cavalry, 150 of the 40th M. N. I., and 50 of the Ramghar Battalion, by a carefully managed detour he surprised the enemy in a *tope* of trees, and charged down on them with his cavalry whilst the infantry came up in time to complete the rout. Fifty-three were killed, a great number wounded, and several prisoners taken, whilst on our side the only casualties were a slight arrow wound received by Captain Wood himself, who killed 3 of the enemy with his own hand, and 9 horses also wounded by arrows. Sarundar Sahai, who was present, again managed to effect his escape, but his brother Chail Sahai was killed, and his adherents were from that time completely disheartened.

But, though disheartened, the rebels were not yet convinced that submission was their best policy. A party of them attacked the *dak* station at Chamrapusa, between Sambalpur and Midnapore, and large bodies of them were still collected with hostile intentions. The Raja of Rehracole had excited bitter animosity by delivering up to the authorities Mudoo Ghanotea, who was said to have organised the attack on Dr. Moore and Mr. Hanson. This man, and 3 of his *paiks*, who were captured with him, were afterwards tried, found guilty, and executed.

In the first half of January Major Bates, whose departure from Cuttack has been mentioned, arrived at Sambalpur. He had, by the advice of Captain Leigh, taken a circuitous route, but had met with some opposition on his march, and had found great difficulty in procuring supplies. Having arrived at Sambalpur and assumed command of all the troops in the district on the 7th January, he forced the Shergati pass, destroyed the breastwork which had been thrown up, killed 4 of the enemy, and seized a quantity of arms and ammunition. Udant Sahai was holding this position.

He next destroyed the village of Kolabera, which had been a nest of rebels. The estate was now confiscated to Government, and shortly after the destruction of the village the Ghanotea and 13 of the most influential men gave themselves up to Major Bates. The Chanotea was afterwards convicted of treason and hanged.

On the 14th January Captain Leigh, taking with him 100 of the 40th Madras N. I. and 30 of the Ramghar Battalion, marched out for the purpose of attacking a body of rebels who were posted in a jungly hill and protected by stone barricades. Finding the force too small to attack this strong position in a dense jungle with any fair chance of success, Captain Leigh was about reluctantly to retire, when the enemy, em-

boldened by this movement, descended the hill and came out into the plain to the supposed number of about 1,500. A skirmish took place, and they again retreated into the jungle, leaving 4 dead. On our side one man only was slightly wounded.

Mr. Cockburn, accompanied by a wing of the 5th M. N. I. under Major Wyndham, and guns under Captain Ellwyn, of the Madras artillery, arrived at Sambalpur on the 20th January meeting with no active opposition, though it was threatened on more than one occasion. An attack was made on one of the halting places previous to his reaching it, and the provisions prepared for his force were carried off. He describes the difficulties of the route to have been very great, and bears high testimony to the manner in which all fatigues were borne and obstacles overcome by the Madras troops.

The Singhor, a pass 60 miles west of Sambalpur, and on the road to Nagpur, was at this time forced by Captain Shakespear, who, with a detachment of Nagpur cavalry, attacked the insurgents, killing 11, wounding 15, and taking 3 prisoners; but, as it was necessary that this officer should lose no time in returning to his post at Raipur, Captain Wood and Captain Woodbridge were sent out with detachments to occupy this position.

On the 12th February Captain Woodbridge having, without due caution, approached a post held by the rebels at Paharsinigurra, was unfortunately shot together with 2 sepoys of the 40th M. N. I., who were near him. On this the whole detachment were seized with panic and fled, with the exception of 2 sepoys, Mathura Panday and Murtaba Khan, of the Ramghar Battalion, both of whom were wounded in an attempt to recover Captain Woodbridge's body. These men were afterwards recommended for promotion to *havildarships*. Mr. Cockburn, immediately on the news reaching him, despatched a party under Captain Leigh, and prepared to take other means to retrieve the disaster; but on the 14th Ensign Warlow attacked the position, and, driving the enemy off, recovered Captain Woodbridge's body. He found them very strongly posted in a defile between two hills covered with jungle. Across the entrance of the defile they had erected a wall 7 feet high and 30 feet long. Half way up the hill on the left, was another stonework which commanded the one in front, whilst on the crest of the pass was a third barricade. For some considerable distance in front they had cleared away the jungle, so that advance in that direction might at once be exposed to their full fire, and leave no cover to take advantage of. Ensign Warlow, however, on approaching the position, threw out 2 flanking parties to his right and left, whilst a third was to advance up the gorge and attack in front as soon as the other

2 parties should be engaged. This judicious arrangement had the desired effect. The enemy, seeing their position turned, fled without offering any resistance, leaving behind some arms and a considerable quantity of provisions.

Every means was being taken to put down the insurrection. Detachments were scattered in various parts of the district ; but the nature of the country, its dense jungles and almost inaccessible hills, threw great obstacles in our way, whilst, on the other hand, they afforded cover and a ready retreat for the insurgents. A successful attack was made by Captain Nicholls, of the 5th N. I., on a position in the Burrapahar hills, supposed to be inaccessible to regular troops. The rebels were driven from their fastness, and a store of provisions taken. In the territories of the Bamra Raja, Major Wyndham had destroyed several villages and re-opened the Calcutta *dâk* road. Detachments under Captain Knocke and Lieutenant and Adjutant Robinson, of the 40th M. N. I., were also doing good service, and Mr. Cockburn speaks highly of the zeal, intelligence and ability displayed by these officers.

He mentions with great regret the death of Major Bates, which was a loss to the public service. After his demise Major Wyndham assumed the command, which he subsequently made over to Captain Taylor, of the 40th M. N. I., himself accompanying the Commissioner of Cuttack.

Mr. Dyer, with a small party of Orissa and Garjat *paiks*, also destroyed some villages, and captured a number of rebels. Another party of Dheogam opened the river route which had been for some months closed.

Jamadar Harnath Singh, of the Ramghar Battalion, who had distinguished himself throughout the whole disturbances by his loyalty and bravery, was recommended for the 3rd class Order of Merit by Mr. Cockburn, and the Supreme Government granted the well-merited distinction.

Towards the end of February some degree of tranquillity began to be restored. The rebels were being hunted down in all directions, and amongst those captured were some of the *zamindars* who had been principally concerned in closing the roads to Cuttack and Calcutta. The *sebundi* Levy, which had been raised amongst the Goomsens, had arrived in Sambalpur, and seemed likely to be a most useful force. The ringleaders and inciters of this outbreak were, however, still at large, and might cause further disturbance. To relieve the troops, as much as possible, from harassing marches in the hot weather, Mr. Cockburn established 3 principal posts for the regular troops at the points most

likely to require their presence, and arranged for 11 subordinate outposts of 25 men each of the Ramghar Battalion and the recently raised *sebundis*, and, having made other dispositions for the security of the district, confiscated the estates of insurgent *samindars*, and warned the friendly *samindars* against harbouring rebels, he returned to Cuttack. His presence was no longer required at Sambalpur, for Colonel Foster, who had been invested with the chief civil and military authority in the district, was immediately expected.

I have frequently had occasion to intimate my high approbation of Mr. Cockburn's conduct and services during the progress of this outbreak; but I must take the opportunity of once more recording the high opinion I entertain of that officer, and my appreciation of the great energy, zeal, intelligence and personal devotion which he has so conspicuously shown throughout the crisis. He has expressed his high opinion of the conduct of all the officers who have been named in the narrative, and of the services rendered by both the 5th and 40th Madras N. I. with the artillery details.

Colonel Foster, on his first arrival at Sambalpur, wished to retain the services of a portion of the 40th Madras N. I., as well as the loyal detachment of the Ramghar Battalion, but he was shortly afterwards able to report that he could dispense with the services of all but his own regiment and the *sebundis*, and for further assistance he relied on the contingents of the various local Rajas who were now willing and anxious to support his authority and afford every aid in the restoration of peace and order. At the same time, when it was proposed that a detachment of the 40th should be retained, there appeared to be a slight feeling of discontent amongst the men who had suffered most severely from the unhealthiness of the place. I allude to the subject here simply to express my conviction that there was no mutinous feeling in the corps or even in his detachment, and, as I have already remarked, the regiment has done most excellent service under most trying circumstances.

Colonel Foster, with the Shekawati Battalion, arrived at Sambalpur on the 29th March, and, as had been previously arranged, assumed the chief civil and military authority. He has been vested with the powers of a Commissioner, and, being an officer of great experience, and one who has had favourable opportunities of becoming acquainted with the native character, he seems well adapted for the position he is now filling. Already has he held a very successful conference, at which all the principal Rajas and many of the petty chiefs attended, and he is strongly of opinion that the promise of future loyalty then made will be adhered to.

The Raja of Patana, who had been sentenced to a fine of Rs. 1,000 for permitting the escape of the notorious rebel Ujal Sahai (brother of

Sarundar and Udant Sahai) proved his loyalty by recapturing the offender, and making him over to Colonel Foster, who, therefore, recommended the remission of the fine. To this I gladly acceded, and desired that my thanks should be given to the Raja for the service rendered.

Colonel Foster has brought to notice the services of Babu Rup Sing, Rai Bahadur, Munsif of Sambalpur, who has highly distinguished himself by his energy and zeal, and by the general influence which he has been able to exercise. His merits will receive suitable acknowledgment.

Sarundar and Udant Sahai, up to the latest date, were still at large, wandering about in the jungles, and seeking an opportunity of doing further mischief ; but I feel no apprehension of any fresh outbreak in that direction, and have the utmost confidence in Colonel Foster's arrangements.

In commencing this narrative I associated the Cuttack with the Chota Nagpur Division and more especially with the district of Sambalpur ; but during the whole course of the recent outbreak Cuttack may be said to have remained undisturbed. Rumours have from time to time been ripe of apprehended danger ; but on inquiry they have always turned out to be without foundation, and the whole of Cuttack and the Tributary *Mahals* has been almost totally unaffected.

The Raja of Keonjhur, in the Tributary *Mahals*, has rendered most constant and useful assistance during the whole course of the disturbances, and I have recommended that he should receive an additional title and a substantial addition to his revenue. His *devan*, Chandar Sikur Mahapati, has also proved himself a loyal friend to Government, and will not go unrewarded.

Mr. Cockburn has also most highly commended Dino Bandhu Mahanti, *tahsildar* of the Khond Malias. His *sebundi's* saved Mr. Hanson's life, and throughout the whole disturbances he has given every assistance in his power. He has already received my thanks, has been made a Deputy Magistrate, and it is in contemplation to confer a rent-free village upon him.

But disturbances of a serious character were not confined to Singbhum and Sambalpur, but extended also to Palamau. The population of that district is composed chiefly of 2 tribes—the Cheroes and the Khairwars, with a sprinkling of Kols and other savages, who took little part in the outbreak, and a few Brahmins, Rajputs and others, who were opposed to the insurgents.

The Cheroes, a spurious family of Rajputs, said to have originally come from Kumaon, a few centuries since, dispossessed the original reigning family and established one of their chieftains in their room. His

descendants continued long to hold the chiefship, and the representative of the family, the last Raja, died within the last few years, leaving no direct heirs. The Cheroes, having thus established themselves, strengthened their position by conferring *jagirs* on their followers, and numbers of these *jagirdars*, with impoverished and deeply mortgaged estates, still exist.

The Khairwars, who are scattered not only over Palamau but over the whole of Chota Nagpur, are also settlers, said to have come originally from the hills west of Rhotas. They are divided into several clans, of which the principal are the Bhogtas, with whom alone we are now concerned. This tribe, inhabiting an elevated plateau between the high lands of Sirguja and the country of Palamau, from which they are further separated by a range of hills of which they hold the passes, and possessing almost inaccessible fastnesses, have been long known as a race of turbulent freebooters, and their late chief died an outlaw.

On his death it was considered a wise policy to confer this territory in *jagir* on his sons, Lilambar and Pitambar, with a nominal quit-rent, and this policy was long successful in suppressing the natural marauding tendencies of these chiefs. Unfortunately, however, Pitambar was at Ranchi when the outbreak took place, and thinking that here was the end of British rule, and still further confirmed in this opinion by the behaviour of the two companies of the 8th N. I., who passed through Palamau on their way to join Ummor Singh, the two brothers determined on declaring their independence, their first efforts being directed against the loyal Rajput *jagirdar*, Thakurai Raghubar Dial Singh, with whom they had long been at feud. Many of the Cheroe *jagirdars* were induced to join them, partly on the promise made of placing a Cheroe chief on the throne, partly, no doubt, in the hope of retrieving their now impoverished and decayed fortunes, and late in October a force of about 500 Bhogtas, with others of the Khairwar clans and a body of Cheroes, under the leadership of Lilambar and Pitambar, made an attack on Chainpur, Shapur and Leslieganj. The attack on Chainpur, directed as has been said against the loyal *samindars*, Raghubar Dial and Kishan Dial Singh, on account of ancient enmities—was repulsed ; but at Leslieganj they succeeded in doing some damage, destroying the public buildings, pillaging the place and committing some murders.

Lieutenant Graham, who was at this time officiating as Junior Assistant Commissioner in the district, having advanced with a small body of not more than 50 men, the Bhogtas retreated into the hills of Sirguja, whither, in consequence of the smallness of his force, he could not pursue them, and he was obliged to await reinforcements at Chainpur. By the end of November the whole country appeared to be up in arms,

and Lieutenant Graham, with his small party, was shut up and besieged in the house of Raghubar Dial, whilst the rebels were plundering in all directions. It had been proposed to send the Shekawati Battalion into Palamau ; but at my urgent request two companies of H. M.'s 13th L. I., which were at this time quartered at Sasaram, were directed to proceed under command of Major Cotter to the relief of Lieutenant Graham. I at the same time called upon the Deo Raja to furnish a contingent for service in the disturbed district.

On the 27th November the station of Rajara had been attacked by a very large body of Bhogtas, and Messrs. Grundy and Malzar, who were employed there on the part of the Coal Company, after holding their house as long as possible, at last with some difficulty made their escape.

The two companies under Major Cotter, with two guns, were accompanied by Mr. Baker, the Deputy Magistrate of Sasaram, and crossed the Sone near Akbarpur on the 30th November. Instructions meanwhile had been sent to Lieutenant Graham, that on being relieved he was at once to fall back with the force, advancing again hereafter when he should have the means of doing so. The detachment reached Shapur on the 8th December, and were joined by Lieutenant Graham. One of the principal leaders of the insurgents, Debi Bux Roy, was at this time captured. On the advance of the force the rebels retreated ; but burned the village of Monka, near Palamau fort, and destroyed the house of Bikari Singh, a *samindar* of some influence, who had lent great assistance to Lieutenant Graham. Major Cotter was ordered to return to Sasaram *via* Shergati to clear the *ghats* in that direction, and Lieutenant Graham accompanied him for some distance ; but the rebel force seemed to be breaking up ; the capture of Debi Bux Roy noted above had the effect of disheartening them, and the Deo Raja, having now joined with his Contingent of 60 matchlockmen and 100 *sawars*, I permitted that officer to return, and, advancing towards his former position, he reached Kishenpur on the 22nd December. Paltan *ghat*, which had been held by the Bhogtas, was abandoned on his approach.

The rebels also withdrew from Chainpur, having made an unsuccessful attack on Ranka fort, where they were repulsed by Kishan Dial.

By this time Lieutenant Graham had received a further reinforcement of 600 men, supplied by the *sarbarakhar* of Sirguja, and was able, not only to maintain his position, but to act on the offensive, and hearing that Premanand, *ilakadar* of Konda, was in the neighbourhood, he sent on a party which surprised this chief, the most influential leader of the Khairwar tribe, with 4 of his principal men and 75 followers.

Lilambar Sahai was still collecting men, and had lately plundered 2

villages ; he, however, kept most carefully to the jungles, and allowed no opportunity of attacking him. Sirguja was also invaded by the followers of the Singruli Raja, a contumacious dependant of the Rewah Raja, from whom he had no authority for thus acting.

On the 16th January Captain Dalton himself started for Palamau with 140 men M. N. I. under Major MacDonell, a small party of Ramghar cavalry and a body of matchlockmen under *parganai* Jagat Pal Sing, a chief who on this and other occasions displayed very remarkable loyalty and attachment to the Government, and has been rewarded with a title, a *khilat* and pension. He reached Monka on the 21st January, and being joined during the night by Lieutenant Graham, next morning, after a reconnaissance of the Palamau fort, finding that it was held by the enemy, they determined on an immediate attack, and advancing in 3 columns, against which the enemy for some time kept up a brisk but ill-directed fire, succeeded in dislodging them, when they fled, leaving guns, ammunition, cattle, supplies and baggage behind them. Ten bodies of the enemy were found ; our loss amounted only to one killed and 2 wounded. Letters to Lilambar and Pitambar Sahai and Nucleut Manji were found with the baggage, and amongst them communications from Ummer Singh, promising immediate assistance from Koer Singh.

Some leading insurgents were captured about this time. Tikait Unarao Singh, and his *dewan* Shaik Bikari, were convicted of being concerned in the rebellion, and executed.

The Commissioner remained at Leslieganj till the 8th February, collecting supplies and making preparations, and he now determined on forcing the passes into the Bhogta country, having with him a force of upwards of 2,000 men, whilst that of Lilambar and Pitambar were said to be much reduced and not to number more than 1,000. Meanwhile he had issued *parwanas* for the attendance of the various *jagirdars*, most of whom readily responded to his call ; but the most powerful and influential of them all, Babu Bhawani Bux Rai, head of the Cheroe family, did not, for some time, make his appearance, and was said to be collecting a large force to oppose Captain Dalton, and to have entertained a number of the Ramghar mutineers. On the 3rd of February, however, he too came in, and thus removed a principal obstacle to our onward movement.

Having divided his force, Captain Dalton sent one body with Kishan Dial Sing and others to Shapur to advance against the Boglumara *ghat*, whilst he himself moved to the attack of the Tungari *ghat*. As he approached this place on the 10th February, he learned that the insurgents, who had held possession of the pass, were plundering the

village of Harnam in his immediate neighbourhood. Lieutenant Graham, with a party of *sawars*, dashed on, and succeeded in intercepting the enemy, and rescuing a band of captives and a herd of cattle which they were in the act of driving off. Three prisoners were also taken, one a leader of some consequence. Two out of the 3 were hanged, whilst the third was kept for the sake of information, which he seemed able and willing to communicate.

No opposition was attempted to their entering the Bhogta country, and on the 13th they reached Chemu, on the banks of the Koel, the principal residence of the insurgent brothers, where they had a fortified house. Captain Dalton crossing the Koel, the rebels did not await his attack in the village, but retreated and took up positions behind masked breastworks of stones on the sides and ridge of a hill overhanging the village. These were carried in succession, and the enemy put to flight. A *dafadar* of the Ramghar cavalry was killed at the beginning of the fight.

The village and the fortified house were afterwards destroyed, as was Sunya, another stronghold of the rebels, close to Chemu, which was also found deserted.

Large quantities of grain were seized, as well as herds of cattle; and several herdsmen, who had been captured by the rebels, were released.

The Commissioner remained in the Bhogta country till the 23rd of February, but was not successful in capturing the ringleaders, Lilambar and Pitambar. Parties were constantly sent out in all directions, who penetrated to their hill and jungle fastnesses, in some instances, as was evident, just as the fugitives had made their escape. A few influential men were taken; but neither threats nor promises had any effect in inducing them to reveal the hiding-places of their chiefs.

A full retaliation was, however, exacted for all the mischief done by them. Their villages were destroyed, their goods and cattle seized, and their estates confiscated to the State; but, whilst stern justice was thus meted out to the inciters of this rebellion, every endeavour was made to conciliate their less guilty followers and the inhabitants of the country, which now seemed to be gradually settling down.

In the Nawaghur hills a body of rebels was collected in the middle of March under Ganpat Rai and Bishonath Sahai. Captain Dalton proceeded to Lohardaga with the intention of attacking them, but falling ill was obliged to depute the duty to Captain Oakes, who, with a party consisting of Madras Rifles, Ramghar irregular cavalry, and 160 of the Kol and Sonthal Levy, under the command of Captain Nation, by a rapid march succeeded in surrounding the enemy, who were so

completely surprised that they made no resistance. Bishonath Sahai was captured on the spot, and Ganpat Rai, who succeeded for the time in making his escape, was soon taken and brought in by some *zamindars* and matchlockmen, who had been sent in pursuit. These rebels were afterwards tried, found guilty and executed.

Nothing worthy of being recorded has since happened in the district of Palamau, and the restoration of complete tranquillity and confidence seems now only to be a question of time. Lilambar and Pitambar Sahai are still at large, miserable fugitives deserted by their followers, and the Commissioner is of opinion that no further danger need be apprehended from them.

The still disturbed state of the district of Shahabad cannot, however, but give cause for anxiety in the direction of Palamau, and indeed late accounts state that some bodies of mutinous sepoys have made their way into that district. It would appear, however, as if they had resort ed thither in despair, and a recent letter from the Commissioner describes them as disheartened and utterly disorganised, and apparently capable of doing little mischief.

I must not quit the subject without recording my high admiration of the conduct of Lieutenant Graham, who, without another Englishman near him, surrounded by thousands of the enemy, never thought of a retreat, and, by maintaining his post, prevented the district from falling entirely into the hands of the insurgents. I have, in the course of the narrative, shown the nature of the services he has rendered, and he is still more usefully employed in the tranquillization of the district.

The essential services rendered by the Thakurais Raghubar Dial Singh and Kishan Dial Singh have appeared in the course of the narrative, and Captain Dalton and Lieutenant Graham urgently put forward their claims for special reward, which assuredly will not be disregarded. Lieutenant Graham also speaks in terms of praise of the conduct in the field of Rampratab Singh, *karpardaz* of Kishan Dial Singh.

Babu Sheo Charan Rai, *jagirdar* of Nawaghar, gave protection to the native officials who, with the Government treasure and records, fled from Leslieganj when it was attacked. He also preserved order in his own villages, and gave efficient assistance when called upon.

Kunwar Bikari Singh, of Manika, one of the Cheroe *jagirdars*, proved himself from first to last a loyal and faithful subject of Government. He was one of the first to join Lieutenant Graham, and his information was of great assistance. His house and property were destroyed by the insurgents, and his family only saved by some friendly Kols.

All these have been specially recommended to the Supreme Government for rewards adequate to their merits.

Captain Dalton also mentions approvingly the names of certain *jagirdars*.

My estimation of the services rendered by the Deo Raja has been recorded in a separate minute.

I have thus, necessarily at some length, entered into the history of events in the districts of Singbhum, Sambalpur and Palamau. In the rest of the Division nothing worthy of mention more than has been already noticed has happened since the re-occupation of Hazaribagh and Ranchi.

Captain Dalton, the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur has given me complete satisfaction, during the whole course of the disturbances. I have explained under what circumstances certain of the districts included in the Commissionership were temporarily placed under other jurisdictions, and that this arose from the nature of the country, and from the simultaneous outbreak of insurrection in parts of the Division widely separated and difficult of access, not from any incompetency on the part of Captain Dalton.

I have named in the course of the narrative those officers whom I consider to have specially distinguished themselves, and I have also recorded the names of native chiefs and others whose services have been prominently brought forward. I now add below a further list of those who have been considered highly deserving of the approbation of Government, some of whom have also received presents, not as an adequate recompense for, but rather as a recognition of, their loyalty.

BHAGALPUR DIVISION.

The Division of Bhagalpur, though not containing within itself the same apparent elements of danger as the neighbouring Division of Patna, yet was by no means free from its own causes for distrust and apprehension. Its districts as in Patna command both sides of the Ganges ; its garrisons, at the commencement of the outbreak, were all native ; the 5th Irregulars, at the *sadar* station itself, long a subject of anxiety, at length broke out into open mutiny ; the head quarters of the 32nd N. I., at Bausi, remained loyal, but were a source of constant uneasiness, whilst two considerable detachments of the same regiment at different stations did actually mutiny, and caused great confusion in a part of the Division.

If there was no great centre of supposed disaffection like the city of Patna, yet it must be borne in mind that this Division includes the but lately tranquillized Sonthal *Parganas*, where, though the result has

proved that no such apprehension need have been entertained, it was but natural to expect that in the presence of disturbing causes, such as the past few months have produced, some excitement would at least have been called forth. But in Bhagalpur, whenever an interruption has occurred to the general peace of the Division, it has been, not from any disaffection on the part of the inhabitants, but from what may be called foreign causes ; and, whenever the immediate cause of disturbance has passed away, the disturbance has passed away with it. Very great praise is due to the Commissioner of this Division, Mr. Yule, to whose exertions and the universal support and sympathy which his character and conduct have evoked the general tranquillity and security of this Division are almost entirely to be attributed.

For some considerable time, after the first outbreak of the mutinies, nothing noteworthy occurred in this Division, except the treacherous murder of Sir Norman Leslie, at Rohini, in the Sonthal *Parganas*, nor did this seem to be any evidence of widespread disaffection amongst the troopers of the 5th Irregular Cavalry, but rather to have been the result of some personal ill-feeling on the part of the 3 troopers who made the savage assault on their officers, and who were discovered and brought to justice, through the instrumentality of Imam Khan, the *Urdu Major*, and some of the troopers of the corps, the former obstinately declining the reward which had been offered for the apprehension of the perpetrators of the deed. A handsome reward was subsequently presented to him.

The mutiny of the 3 regiments at Dinapore caused considerable alarm in the Division, but all remained quiet.

At the end of July, orders were sent up from the Supreme Government to disarm the 5th Irregulars at Bhagalpur ; but the Commissioner's very strong remonstrances, made through me, prevented this step being taken, nor, though subsequent events proved that the major portion of the corps was disloyal, were the arguments of the Commissioner without a considerable show of reason, particularly those which urged the impossibility of simultaneously disarming the different small detachments scattered about the Division, and the consequent danger that would arise to the European officers at the various out-stations.

Previous to the Dinapore mutiny the Commissioner had considered the presence of European troops in his Division unnecessary ; but now, looking to the importance of his position on the Ganges, and to the danger that might possibly arise from a mutiny of the 5th Irregulars and 32nd N. I., he thought it right to detain 100 men of H. M.'s 5th Fusiliers at Bhagalpur, as well as to send 50 to Monghyr, thereby allaying a panic which had previously prevailed at the latter place.

On the 14th August, at midnight, the 5th Irregulars mutinied and left the station, without, however, doing any mischief. They moved off to Rohini, where they were joined by the detachment of their regiment, and thence, (having extorted Rs. 12,000 from the inhabitants,) to Bausi, which place they passed on the 16th. The 32nd N. I. refused to aid them, and by their fidelity saved the stations of Bausi and Deoghar. A messenger, at the risk of life, conveyed to Colonel Burney, at Bausi, the intelligence of the mutiny, arriving just half an hour before the troopers. He received a reward of Rs. 1,000. The authorities at Deoghar were similarly warned by a messenger, who walked 80 miles in 30 hours, and who also was rewarded. The *sawars*, failing in their attempt to corrupt this regiment, proceeded westward by very rapid marches. The Division in other respects remained tranquil, except from a little plundering by the escaped convicts from Gaya, whilst on the Purnea side of the river uneasiness was felt from the proximity of the 73rd N. I. at Jalpaiguri.

The conduct of Babu Shamalanand Mukerji at Naya Dumka was deserving of much praise. Distrusting the *sawars* of the 5th Irregulars at that station, he managed to send the treasure (Rs. 4,000) and the prisoners to Suri. The acknowledgments of Government were communicated to him. Lieutenant Boddam, of the Artillery, whose name has been previously mentioned, received the special thanks of Government for the part taken by him in preserving order in the southern district.

At this time the Commissioner recommended the enlistment of a body of Sonthals for Police purposes. This, under the sanction of the Supreme Government, has been carried out, and there is reason to believe that they will be a useful force, and that the policy of employing men from these tribes will have a favorable result.

After the affair of the 5th Irregulars, nothing worthy of being recorded occurred till the 9th October, when a detachment of the 32nd N. I. suddenly broke out into mutiny, murdered their commanding officer, Lieutenant Cooper, and Mr. Ronald, the Assistant Commissioner, and, having plundered the bazar, marched off to Rohini and thence to the westward, following the same route as that taken by the 5th Irregulars.

Some of the circumstances attending this outbreak are worth recording as illustrating the unaccountable conduct which has on many occasions been displayed by the sepoys during the late outbreak. Lieutenants Cooper and Rannie and Mr. Ronald, the Assistant Commissioner, were all surprised in the same bungalow, which the sepoys completely surrounded. Lieutenant Cooper was an officer who implicitly trusted his men, was constantly with them in familiar intercourse, and appeared to be an object of sincere attachment. Mr. Ronald was an utter stranger to them ; whilst Lieutenant Rannie, though of

course well known to the men, took no particular pains to please them, and, as I am informed, appeared in no way to be a favourite with them. Yet him they specially spared, calling out to him by name to come out of the bungalow, and allowing him to leave the place unmolested, whilst they ruthlessly murdered their friend Lieutenant Cooper, and the stranger Mr. Ronald, of whom they could know nothing bad or good. Lieutenant Cooper was an officer of great promise, and had received my thanks for his judicious conduct on the occasion of Deoghar being threatened by the 5th Irregulars, when, in the absence of the Civil authorities, he had maintained confidence by opening the *cutcherry* and carrying on the current duties.

The Head Quarters of the 32nd N. I. had meanwhile marched from Bausi to Raniganj, and, notwithstanding attempts made to tamper with them during the march, on arriving at the latter place they quietly, and of their own accord, surrendered their arms.

A second detachment of the corps mutinied at Rampur Hat, as has been elsewhere detailed. On reaching the Bhagalpur Division they followed in the footsteps of the 1st detachment, but without committing any marked outrages.

Some *dacoities* occurred in the neighbourhood of Deoghar in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs ; but order was very soon restored in this direction.

About the end of October sanction was given by the Supreme Government to a scheme which originated with Mr. Kerry, an indigo planter in the Purnea district, who proposed to raise a corps of the Parbatias, inhabiting the Morung, which divides our territories from Nepal. Mr. Kerry was requested to commence enlisting these men, and subsequently an officer has been appointed to the charge of them, and an establishment sanctioned on the same scale as the Bengal Police Battalion. The experiment seems to promise to be very successful. Great scarcity prevailed in the Monghyr district, and in consequence there was an increase in the number of felonies, and this cause continued to operate for a considerable time. The stoppage of railway and other works consequent on the disturbances created extensive distress, and later in the year, and at the commencement of the present year, several deaths from starvation are said to have taken place. An increase of crime was naturally to be expected ; but this can only remotely be traced to the prevailing disturbances.

Early in November I despatched 100 sailors to Purnea for the protection of that place in anticipation of the not improbable contingency of an outbreak at Jalpaiguri.

These men, as will be seen in the sequel, under their gallant commander, Captain Burbank, did most excellent and useful service.

On the 24th November I telegraphed to Mr. Yule, the Commissioner, the intelligence of the mutiny at Chittagong, and on the following day I announced the outbreak at Dacca, thinking it very possible that these events, the latter in particular, might bring matters to a crisis at Jalpaiguri, and thus affect the peace of the Purnea district. It was, of course, to be expected that the detachment which had escaped from Dacca would endeavour to make its way to the headquarters of its regiment. At Jalpaiguri were not only the 73rd N. I., but two *risalas* of the 11th Irregular cavalry. What was expected actually happened ; the companies from Dacca marched straight for Jalpaiguri, but before they came near it the 11th Irregulars mutinied and went off in the direction of Purnea. This much is necessary to explain Mr. Yule's movements, which will here be very briefly detailed. Having summoned the detachment of H. M.'s 5th Fusiliers (50 men) from Monghyr (the services of the regiment at Bhagalpur itself had been previously dispensed with), he left Bhagalpur on the 29th November, and, taking the 100 sailors under Captain Burbank, he moved to Kissenganj as the point from which he could most readily and effectually act in any direction.

With him followed all the Europeans in the Division, planters, civil officers, &c., well mounted and armed, forming a by no means insignificant body of most willing and cheerful volunteers. With remarkable energy he had collected not less than 80 elephants, and with his little army he was now ready for any thing that might happen.

On the 4th and 5th December two different detachments of the 11th mutinied, and went off. On the 9th news reached Kissenganj that they had passed to the southward of that place. Mr. Yule, putting his men on elephants, marched all night, accomplished the distance to Purnea (40 miles) before daylight, and met the *sawars*, who were leisurely marching into the place. They refused to face his force, and retired a few miles. The Commissioner followed, and on the morning of the 11th came up with them just as they were preparing to march. On this occasion they charged with a resolution worthy of a better cause, some of them, and a *risaldar* in particular, charging up to the steady little squares which formed in admirable order to receive them, and falling dead on the bayonets, 18 or 20 bodies were afterwards found on the field and in the neighbouring jungle. Under cover of a heavy fog they now retired, carrying with them many wounded. One man was taken and hung. Not a casualty occurred on our side.

On the morning of the 12th the Commissioner, having received information that the *sawars* intended crossing the Kusi to Nathpur

started to intercept them, and in 45 hours accomplished the 50 miles to that place, including the crossing of the Kusi with its numerous and extensive quicksands. Arrived here, and having halted a few days, he learned that the *sawars* had entered the Nepal Morung, and were at Chatra, 36 miles north of Nathpur, and, as he had received an express from Jalpaiguri, urgently requesting aid against the Dacca mutineers, he determined on moving in that direction *via* Kissenganj, which (a distance of 64 miles) he reached in 36 hours, and on the 22nd December proceeded to Titalia, and afterwards to a post recommended by the Jalpaiguri authorities between Siliguri and Pankabari. Having waited here till the 26th without further intelligence, he determined on moving to Chowa *ghat* on the Tista, where the Dacca party were expected to cross. On nearing the *ghat* he came in sight of the enemy's encampment in a position unfavorable for an attack, and, withdrawing into the jungle, established his force on the path by which, as he was told, the enemy must pass. They, however, evaded him at night, taking an unfrequented by-path, and on the morning of the 28th he learned that they had crossed the Mahanadi and were making for the Darjeeling road. Mr. Yule, leaving his camp standing, took up a position on the road, and, after waiting some hours and seeing nothing of them, had just ordered his men back to camp, when the rebels were seen crossing the road at a little distance off. So rapid was their rush across the small open space from jungle to jungle that Mr. Yule's advanced party had only time to fire a volley which killed one straggler before they again disappeared in the jungle, and the pursuit, which Captain Burbank continued for 2 or 3 miles, was hopeless and unsuccessful.

The fugitives having thus made good their escape into the forest, Mr. Yule moved parallel with them on the out-skirts to prevent their making any inroad into Purnea, and reached the Kusi opposite Nathpur on the very same day that they formed a junction with the *sawars* at Chatra.

An attack planned by Mr. Yule on the position at Chatra failed in consequence of the rebels making a sudden retreat across the Kusi at a most difficult ford, where many of their horses, unable to reach the opposite bank, were abandoned. Major Richardson, who was watching the opposite bank lower down, was too late to intercept them, and indeed they were in a country where it was impossible for cavalry to act with effect, and, as has been related in the Patna narrative, they now got off through the Nepal *Tarai*, and eventually made their way into Oudh.

The very greatest credit attaches to Mr. Yule for the manner in which his whole expedition was conducted. His own report of his proceedings, as furnished to Government, has been published, and the

present slight sketch is intended not to give any adequate representation of Mr. Yule's services, but by an unembellished detail to keep up the thread of the narrative. Circumstances over which he could have no control prevented him from giving the rebels the severé lesson they would have received had the attack on Chatra succeeded ; but, in thus keeping his Division free from all outrage, he did all and more than could have been expected with the means at his disposal. Very much of his success is attributable to the tact and judgment he evinced in collecting and maintaining the means of transport and supply for his little force, and much to the personal popularity which caused all assistance to be lent to him with so much alacrity and cheerfulness. I must not omit to mention the names of those to whom the Commissioner was greatly indebted for such assistance. These were Messrs. F. B. Drummond and Simson of the Civil Service, Messrs. Wood and Braddon, Assistant Commissioners, Mr. St. George, of the Railway, Mr. Alexander, Mr. G. Waller and his two sons, Messrs. F. and R. Waller, and Messrs. Burford and Cornish.

Telanand Singh, of Bunali, and his co-sharer (a minor) supplied the Europeans most munificently and refused all payment. Mr. A. Forbes of Sultanpur was most liberal in his supplies, as were Mir Mahomed Taki of Piraha, Pertab Singh through his manager, Mr. J. J. Cave, and Mr. De Courcy. Raja Ahmed Reza, of Suriapur, and Mahomed Faizbux, of Dhubaili, also gave great assistance with the utmost readiness, and the two petty Muhammadan *milikdars* of Aruria and Chatragachi each presented two fat cows for the use of the men.

Since these occurrences Bhagalpur has remained undisturbed, and nothing worthy of notice has been recorded.

RAJSHAHİ DIVISION.

The Division of Rajshahi would in itself have given little cause for uneasiness during the recent disturbances. Its inhabitants are of a quiet peace-loving disposition, and for many years past it has not been necessary to quarter a soldier in the Division. It was only within a few months previous to the mutinies that a native regiment was stationed at Jalpaiguri, in the Rangpur district, not, however, from any necessity for the coercion of the inhabitants, but with a view to the repression of inroads which seemed to be threatened by the Bhutias along the frontier. It is owing to the presence of this regiment, and of the detachment of the 11th Irregular cavalry, that any anxiety for the tranquillity of the district has been caused ;—and though this corps, the 73rd, is one of the very few in the Bengal Army that still retains its arms, yet, as has been related in the preceding narrative, continual apprehensions were

entertained of its loyalty, nor has it been without the exercise of the greatest courage, patience, tact and judgment on the part of the officers, that an outbreak has been prevented; whilst its 3 companies at Dacca resisted an attempt to disarm them, and, breaking out into open mutiny, excited great alarm in the districts of Dinajpur and Rangpur, and—though failing to induce the main body of their own regiment to join them—were the ultimate and exciting cause of the defection and mutiny of the two *risalas* of the 11th Irregulars at Jalpaiguri.

Early in this outbreak a meeting of the *zamindars* and other inhabitants of the Division forwarded to the Government of India resolutions expressing their loyalty and determination to aid the Government in the maintenance of order, for which the acknowledgments of the Governor-General-in-Council were returned.

In July a few arrests were made of sepoys and others, and in the latter part of the month a plot was said to have been discovered for murdering the officers of the 73rd regiment at mess. Some sepoys were in consequence arrested and sent to Calcutta for trial by court martial, and about the end of August 18 Muhammadan troopers of the 11th Irregulars were disarmed and sent to Berhampore.

Early in September an officer made by the manager of Messrs. Watson and Co.'s factories to raise a small force of European volunteer cavalry for service, in case of need, was accepted with thanks. A small but very effective body, consisting of indigo planters and civil officers, has since been raised and organised at Rampur Boalia, and an officer deputed to superintend their drill, &c.

Cases of individual disaffection occurred from time to time in the regiment at Jalpaiguri, as for instance, in the first week of November, a sepoy loaded his musket and threatened to shoot any European officer who should come near him. He was secured after jumping into the river, and on trial sentenced to transportation for life. Some few others whom he named as implicated in a plot were dismissed. About this time Colonel Sherer, commanding the regiment, commenced to entertain Gurkha recruits with a view of introducing a neutralizing element into his corps.

All remained quiet in the Division till the end of November, when news of an outbreak at Dacca reached Jalpaiguri, and great anxiety was naturally felt for the loyalty of the whole regiment, particularly as it was expected that the mutineers would march on the latter station. Immediately on the intelligence reaching Darjeeling, Captain Curzon, with 100 Europeans and 300 trained Gurkhas, proceeded towards Jalpaiguri, which they reached on the 6th December. In the meantime a force from the 73rd N. I., who seemed to show no sympathy with their mutinous

brethren, and one *risala* of the 11th Irregular cavalry, had been sent out to Madarganj to intercept the Dacca party, in case of their approaching the station. On the night of the 4th December the *risala*, which was left behind, took themselves off, sending intelligence of their movements to their comrades at Madarganj, who followed on the night of the 5th, and, having formed a junction with the first party, the whole body made a hasty retreat out of the Division and entered, as has been previously narrated, the Purnea district. On the 9th two *sawars* who had been captured were blown away from guns in the presence of the 73rd, who evinced no sympathy with them. The Dacca companies meanwhile having crossed the Brahmaputra, not very far from Bagwa *ghat*, murdered an unfortunate *barkandaz* who attempted to oppose them, and entered the Rangpur district on the 30th November, and, finding there was little hope of a successful advance on Jalpaiguri, they entered the Bhutan frontier about the 8th December. It was determined that an attack should be made on them here ; and accordingly Captain Curzon moved out with a party of Europeans and Gurkhas, accompanied by the Joint Magistrate, Mr. Gordon, who had made a personal reconnaissance of the enemy's camp, and marching all night reached the neighbourhood of the enemy's position before daylight on the morning of the 12th December. A dense fog and a want of accurate knowledge of the ground prevented their advancing for some time after day had dawned, but, as soon as the fog lifted, having got close to the mutineers, they found them much more strongly posted than they expected. Advancing as rapidly as was possible across a belt of very heavy sand, and dashing through a rapid stream some 4 feet deep, they came on another belt of sand, where they were exposed without protection to the fire of the rebels, who were drawn up on the high perpendicular bank of a second stream, awaiting their approach.

A surprise had been calculated on, but this had failed ; the party under Captain Curzon was very small, and, with the almost insurmountable obstacle in front, an advance would have been very rash and almost certain to end in disaster, and consequently, after the exchange of a few shots, it was determined that the attack should be abandoned, and the retirement was effected without any loss, except 2 men slightly wounded.

The mutineers soon afterwards left this position, and, as has been related in the narrative of the Bhagalpur Division, they crossed the Tista on the 26th of December, and effected their escape into the Nepal *Tarai*. Mr. Gordon used every effort to prevent their crossing ; but, misled by false information, and deceived by the treachery of the Bhutia *suba* of Mainaguri, who, whilst making all sorts of professions

to that gentleman, was really lending all his aid to the sepoys, and with the difficulties to contend against which the country itself presented, covered as it was with dense jungle, he was unable to oppose any serious obstacle to their progress.

The Hon'ble Captain Curzon's proceedings have no doubt been applauded by the military authorities. His prompt descent from Darjeeling and subsequent vigilance and conduct probably saved Jalpaiguri from a mutiny of the 73rd N. I. Mr. Gordon has displayed a great deal of courage, zeal and energy, as well as discretion during a very critical period, and I have every reason to express satisfaction at his conduct.

As soon as the news of the Dacca mutiny reached Calcutta, I lost no time in despatching 100 European sailors with guns to each of the stations of Rangpur and Dinajpur. These proceeding *via* Bagwa *ghat* (on the Brahmaputra) reached these stations on the 15th and 20th December respectively, and I now felt no further anxiety for the Division.

Even had the 73rd been disposed to rise, the force at Jalpaiguri itself was capable of putting down any disturbance there, whilst the presence of these bodies of Europeans was sufficient to prevent any risk of attack on the 2 stations at which they were posted.

Anxiety was at first felt for the district of Pabna, as it was thought not improbable that the Dacca mutineers might cross to Sirajganj *en route* to the north west, and more particularly so with the prospect of plunder which that rich and important mart held out. Mr. Ravenshaw, the Magistrate, sent a hasty summons to all the planters and other Europeans in his district, which was most promptly responded to, and a well-mounted and equipped body of horsemen soon collected at the *sadar* station, and moved at once to Sirajganj, where Mr. Barry had fortified his house, and with a small gunboat on the river was prepared to resist all comers. He had previously been furnished by Government with a couple of 3-lb. howitzers, with other arms and a supply of ammunition. My thanks were given to all the gentlemen who took part in this expedition, and I highly approved of the energy displayed by Mr. Ravenshaw, who accompanied the party. The Commissioner of the Division also brought to my notice the name of Bijoy Gobind Chaudhri, *zamindar* of Tatapara, who offered to place guards at his own expense between Dacca and Pabna to prevent the mutineers from advancing on the latter place. This gentleman also received my warm acknowledgments for his loyalty.

In the Rangpur district the name of Rani Sarnamoyi, *zamindar* of Baharband, was conspicuously mentioned as having given assistance

and supplies for the parties of sailors on their arrival at Bagwa *ghat*. At a time when it was feared that Rangpur would be attacked by the mutineers, Messrs. Featherstonhaugh and Proby had been entrusted with the treasure, which they undertook to convey to a place of safety. They received subsequently a reward of Rs. 500 each.

Since the mutiny of the detachment of cavalry and the escape of the Dacca mutineers from the district, every thing has remained perfectly tranquil and nothing has occurred which seems deserving of notice.

NADIA DIVISION.

The Nadia Division, if it has escaped the active disturbances, either foreign or internal, which have more or less unsettled the majority of the Provinces of Bengal, has not been exempted from its own peculiar share of anxiety, but has been affected both directly and indirectly by the general disturbing causes,—directly by the presence in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and of Murshidabad of portions of the native army which has probably in most instances been the starting point of the panics, groundless as I have before said, and as I truly believe, but hardly perhaps unreasonable, to which the European portion of the inhabitants of Calcutta and other parts of the Division have been frequently subject ;—indirectly by the constant arrival in Calcutta of large bodies of European troops, which has been the occasional source of inconvenience of the inhabitants of Calcutta generally, and to the native inhabitants in their turn a more intelligible source of panic, rendering necessary a large increase to the police force.

Nor must it be forgotten that it was in this Division that the first symptoms were displayed of the coming mutiny which was so soon to destroy the hitherto trusted army of Bengal. It has been from two points in the Division—Berhampore and Barrackpore—the one the military cantonment of Murshidabad, the other the head quarters of the Division which supplies the native guards for the town of Calcutta,—where these symptoms first showed themselves, that any apprehension has arisen, and in both cases was to be added the danger, such as it was, of the neighbourhood of large native cities, and, in the case of Murshidabad in particular, a large Muhammadan population, together with whatever prestige attached to the residence there of the descendant of the old rulers of Bengal. I must do the Nawab the justice to say that he has throughout conducted himself with the utmost loyalty, giving all the assistance in his power, and always showing himself ready to anticipate any requisition on the part of Government.

In the portion of my narrative which refers to this Division, it will be necessary for me to record but very little ; the districts generally

have been perfectly tranquil, and furnish little matter to remark upon. The events connected with the insubordination and punishment of the 2 regiments, the 19th and the 34th, do not come within my province, even had they not already been so fully discussed as to render all further notice unnecessary, and the same may be said of the disarming of the whole body of the native troops both at Barrackpore and Calcutta, and the raising of the body of European volunteer guards at the Presidency.

As soon as the events at Meerut and Delhi became fully known, loyal addresses were presented by the various communities of Calcutta and the neighbourhood, and all classes showed themselves well affected to Government. The disarming of the native troops took place without any difficulty on the 14th June ; numbers of deserters from various sepoy regiments were said to be wandering about the different districts, but a strict inquiry showed that these reports were very much exaggerated. A complete list of such deserters was published, and served to allay the apprehension that had been felt. At Berhampore all was quiet up to the 23rd of June, though some seditious placards had been posted up in the city of Murshidabad. On that day a panic occurred from an unfounded belief that the 63rd N. I. and the 11th Irregular cavalry, which were stationed there, had mutinied. The Nawab lent his assistance to the authorities, and the fears passed away. The feeling of confidence was secured by the despatch to Berhampore of detachments of H. M.'s 84th and 25th regiments, of whom part were sent by steam to Alatoli, on the right bank of the Ganges, and thence conveyed by elephants and carriages rapidly and secretly to their destination. Another part were sent up in break vans with 4 horses each, and, notwithstanding the season, arrived speedily and unexpectedly at Berhampore. In this too the Nawab lent his assistance by providing horses, elephants, &c.

A plot was discovered amongst the men of the *najib* guard at JESSORE in which a *jamadar* and two sepoy were principally concerned. The *jamadar* was hung and the sepoy sentenced to transportation for life. Both these men committed suicide by hanging themselves in their cell the night before they were to have been sent away from the station.

The police was strengthened through the whole Division, and more particularly in the 24-*Parganas*.

Up to the end of July all was quiet. At Jingergachia, near JESSORE, a police *jamadar* named Muhammad Ali had circulated a religious proclamation to the effect that the day of judgment was at hand. The Commissioner attached little importance to this foolish act, but further inquiries were directed to be set on foot.

Various public buildings in Calcutta were at this time assigned for the use of European troops now shortly expected to arrive. An uneasy

feeling was abroad in consequence of a belief that very large purchases of arms had been made by the natives, and that these arms were concealed in the city. On careful inquiry by the Commissioner of Police the reports were found to have been greatly exaggerated, though considerable sales had no doubt taken place: the native gunsmiths voluntarily rendered their stock to the Commissioner of Police, and all precautions were taken against any possible danger that might arise during the approaching Muharram.

Great alarm existed amongst the Muhammadan population regarding imaginary violent measures that were to be taken against them during their festival. The Magistrates, as well as the influential Muhammadan gentlemen, were requested to point out to them the groundlessness of these delusions.

The news of the mutiny at Dinanore reached Calcutta at the end of July, and it was of obvious moment to disarm the 63rd regiment N. I. and the 11th Irregular cavalry, who were assuredly not to be trusted. H. M.'s 90th regiment were at this time on their way to the Upper Provinces, and a portion was allowed to make a temporary divergence for the purpose.

The disarming was carried out without difficulty. The cavalry exhibited a spirit of insubordination, and were deprived of their horses as well as their arms. All this was done in a manner very creditable to both the Nawab and the Governor-General's Agent. Subsequently, as our disarmed soldiers were reported to be making inquiries about their arms in the city of Murshidabad, it was determined that the city too should be disarmed, and the Magistrate was able to effect this without the aid of European troops. He seized a considerable number of wall and field pieces and 2,000 small arms. All this was done in the first few days of August.

In Calcutta, the Bakr-Id passed off quietly, and there was no cause for apprehension; but it was found necessary to place a prohibition on the sale of copper caps to natives by European firms, and thus to prevent them from being sent upcountry and disposed of to the mutineers.

The Commissioner of Police was allowed, at his own suggestion, to have 2 field pieces placed in the police compound, with a supply of ammunition, for the purpose of training sailors. This has been found a most useful measure with reference to the parties of sailors that have been sent to various stations, and the Commissioner has been constantly able to furnish men with some training in the use of artillery for these marine brigades. During the month of August, and indeed at various times since that period, reports were in circulation that large bodies of

upcountry natives were coming down towards Calcutta, both in boats and by land. The reports, on inquiry, were always found to be grossly exaggerated. As a precautionary measure an establishment was allowed for the purpose of searching all boats, and the police at the entrance of the Bhagirathi river was strengthened. In Calcutta itself an addition of 60 men was made to the European police. The Muharram, which took place at the end of August, passed off more quietly than usual. An address was subsequently presented by the leading Muhammadans thanking Government for the means which had been taken to preserve order ; but no doubt a great part of the credit is due to the population themselves, who endeavoured to prove their loyalty by their moderation on the occasion.

In parts of the JESSORE district some sort of panic seemed to exist. In September 100 stand of arms were sent for distribution amongst the planters in that district. Various arrests of followers of the King of OUDH at Barasat and elsewhere took place during this month, as well as at other times both previous and subsequent, but I need do no more than allude to this.

Early in October the Commissioner of the Division was authorised to raise 100 men for police purposes at the *sadar* station of each district. By the end of October and beginning of November considerable bodies of European troops had begun to arrive, and a temporary increase to the European police constables became necessary.

In this month, at the representation of the Superintendent of the Alipore jail, a European guard was sanctioned, and the disarmed native guard, hitherto furnished by the Calcutta Militia, was altogether withdrawn.

I have before alluded to the disturbances caused by the arrival of large bodies of European troops in Calcutta. I may pass over these without lengthened detail, mentioning that the Commissioner of the Division reported that the troops stationed at Barrackpore were creating a very uneasy feeling amongst the respectable natives by entering *bananas* and insulting the females, &c., whilst in Calcutta some serious affrays took place. On the night of the 29th of November in particular, a fight occurred in the Bow Bazar between several hundreds of soldiers and sailors, in which the recently organised police proved very useful. Again, on the night of December 2nd, an affray took place in which a police Inspector was severely injured. The Grand Jury of the Supreme Court afterwards made a presentment on the subject. It was no doubt difficult to exercise an efficient control over the troops, scattered as they were over the whole town, at intervals of miles ; the facilities for procuring liquor were also very great. Under the orders of the Governor-

General in Council all possible means were taken to lessen the latter evil. The Commissioner of Police caused all liquor shops to be closed at 5 P. M., whilst the military authorities opened a temporary place of amusement in a central position, where books and papers were provided for the men, and good and wholesome liquor was obtainable. Whilst I am on this subject, I must mention that, as late as in the first week of May 1858, very serious disturbances have occurred in the town; these have been caused by the recruits for the Hon'ble Company's cavalry who have recently arrived in India, and it has even been necessary to have a large mounted patrol on duty every night. The recruits have now all left Calcutta, and order has been consequently restored.

Assaults by Europeans on the native (disarmed) sentries at the gates of Government House had about that time become almost nightly occurrences, and to prevent them a European Serjeant was obliged to be constantly patrolling. At the end of December some uneasiness was felt at Berhampore on account of the sepoys at the station, who were supposed to be plotting. I therefore despatched a party of 100 European sailors to that station.

At the beginning of February, an intense panic was said to have seized on the artizans and native servants in Calcutta, who expected to be forcibly seized and sent to the Upper Provinces. This may not improbably have arisen from the impressment bill passed about that time, which, however, it was never intended to enforce in Calcutta or its neighbourhood.

It having been reported that some sepoys, who after a short imprisonment had been released from the Alipore Jail, were being entertained as *lathials*, means were taken to prevent a recurrence of this.

On the 2nd March occurred one of the almost inexplicable panics to which Calcutta has been from time to time exposed. It was, I believe, represented to the Hon'ble the President in Council that an attempt was to be made to arm the guard which in the course of the usual monthly relief would march down from Barrackpore to Calcutta. A house was indicated (that of the Nawab of Chitpur) where the arms were said to be concealed. Under Mr. Dorin's orders, the march of the guard was stopped, and a strict search was made in the house named; but I understand that no trace of the arms could be discovered, and that the whole story was subsequently discredited.

As the anniversaries of the outbreak of 1857 approached, rumours of various kinds were set afloat, and considerable uneasiness was felt in this and other Divisions, in consequence of the report which has been elsewhere noticed; of the "something white" which after a certain fixed time was not to be obtainable. Inquiries were made as to the

origin and object of this rumour ; but I have no reason to apprehend any interruption to the peace in this or any of the neighbouring districts and Divisions.

I must not omit this opportunity of recording my high estimation of the singular services rendered by Mr. Wauchope, Commissioner of Police for Calcutta. He and his staff have always been indefatigable in their exertions to preserve order. He has given constant and most valuable assistance in the entertainment and training of men for the marine brigades. His information as to suspicious characters has always been most full and accurate, and in all respects I consider him a peculiarly efficient and most valuable officer.

BURDWAN DIVISION.

What has been said of the Nadia Division will also, in a great measure, apply to the Burdwan Division. It has been quite free from any disturbance, though it has not altogether escaped the apprehension of danger. For a long time the Shekawati Battalion was a fruitful, and, considering its composition, a not unreasonable source of apprehension to the residents and inhabitants of Midnapore and Bankura, whilst the but lately tranquillised Sonthal *Parganas*, and the still unsettled Chota Nagpur districts, bordering as they do 2 sides of this Division, afforded also reasonable cause for anxiety and uneasiness.

The main stay of the Division, Rattray's police Battalion, which had been expressly raised for service in the Sonthal *Parganas*, was, owing to the exigencies of the crisis, early moved away to a distant station, and, for a considerable period, the only defence against any possible rise of the Sonthals was the Shekawati Battalion, itself, as I have said, suspected of a disloyal spirit. No outbreak has however, occurred, and, as respects the Shekawati Battalion, it has not only remained faithful to the State, but has done very good service in the Chota Nagpur Division, at a time when no other troops could be spared, and when any, even wavering, on its part, would have had a very prejudicial effect.

The Division has throughout been perfectly tranquil, and I have never had the slightest grounds for anticipating any disloyalty on the part of the inhabitants.

I need hardly add that almost all the troops intended for the Upper Provinces have passed through this Division : but the arrangements at Raniganj, which have so much facilitated the onward movement of these troops, will be more particularly alluded to hereafter. As was to be expected, as soon as the general nature of the mutiny became apparent, suspicions began to be entertained of the Shekawati Battalion which was then stationed at Midnapore. A police *barkandaz* was even found

tampering with the sepoys, and endeavouring to excite them to mutiny ; but neither then nor subsequently has the regiment itself, as far as I know, been proved to have displayed any symptoms of disaffection, nor does the case of the 2 sepoys who made a murderous attack on some of their comrades, and who were released at the intercession of the commanding officer, and of the regiment generally, form any exception to this statement.

In the Hooghly district the landholders and others presented a petition, complaining of the inefficiency and cowardice of the police *barkandaz*, and begging that the bolder class of *lathials* might be entertained. The experiment on a small scale was sanctioned at the *sadar* station of Hooghly, with an intention of extending it, should it turn out successful ; and whilst I am on the subject I may add, though the circumstance belongs to a later period, that Mr. Hodgson Pratt, who has been officiating for some months past as Magistrate of Hooghly, has succeeded in obtaining the services of a considerable body of native Christians, who appear likely to be good and useful men.

At Birbhum the Judge distrusted the *sawars* attached to the Bengal police Battalion who, whilst the infantry were all Sikhs, were chiefly up-country Hindustanis, recruited in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Fathighar. Captain Rattray, commanding the Battalion, and Mr. Baker, commandant of cavalry, were both consulted on the subject of disarming these men, and both replied that means were always at hand of coercing them, and that this measure did not then seem desirable. They were however subsequently disarmed without any trouble (but after they had left Suri), and again received back their arms, as has been related in a previous part of the narrative, on giving decisive proof of their loyalty.

On the occurrence of the outbreak of the Ramghar Battalion, fresh uneasiness was felt on the subject of the Shekawati Battalion, both at Midnapore and Bankura, where was a detachment of the corps,—an uneasiness which was increased by the close neighbourhood of the Chota Nagpur districts, and a fear of outbreak amongst the Chuars and Sonthals inhabiting the country about Bankura. The distrust, however, of the Battalion seems gradually to have passed away, and in October, when increased fear of an outbreak amongst the Sonthals seemed to be entertained, a wing of the Shekawatis was gladly welcomed at Bankura, and served to allay the anxiety that was felt. But it is not necessary to record the recurrence of mere apprehensions, it is sufficient to repeat that neither then, nor at any other time since, have the apprehensions either about the sepoys or the frontier tribes been realized.

At the end of August large numbers of upcountry men were said to

have come into the Hooghly district ; on inquiry these were found to be chiefly men seeking service in Calcutta.

The Magistrate was, however, directed to exercise all vigilance in watching any movements of the kind. Throughout the Division escaped convicts from Chota Nagpur were from time to time arrested.

At the time of the Bakr-Id, in August, the Munsif and law officer at Birbhum made loyal addresses to the Muhammadans at that place, for which they received the approbation of Government.

In September the Supreme Government gave notice of their intention of establishing a temporary cantonment at Raniganj.

Towards the end of October confidence was so far restored that the Magistrate at Bankura proposed to dismiss an extra establishment of *barkandaz* which he had been allowed to entertain.

Soon after this the Shekawati Battalion, whose services were urgently required in the Chota Nagpur Division, left Midnapore, and, in the end of November, the Commissioner having reported that some disturbance amongst the Sonthals was likely to arise, I determined on sending a marine brigade of 100 men to Midnapore. These men left Calcutta on the 3rd December. Subsequently, on their services being urgently required in Singbhum, a second body of 100 men was sent to take their place.

Nothing further worth recording seems to have occurred in this Division. Loyal addresses were from time to time presented, in particular, one from the principal inhabitants of Ukhra, transmitted by the Judge of Birbhum, who was directed to return my acknowledgments.

The Commissioner also brought to my notice the services rendered, and the offers of assistance made, by the Raja of Burdwan, and I desired that my approval might be conveyed to the Raja.

DACCA AND CHITTAGONG.

In reviewing the circumstances connected with the late outbreak in the more Eastern Provinces, I have thought it desirable that the 2 Divisions of Dacca and Chittagong should form the subject of one narrative both because the geographical position of the 2 Divisions favors such an arrangement, and also because the occurrences in one have had a great bearing on the course of events in the other ; forming indeed, in the case of Chittagong, Tippera and Sylhet, a continuous and complete narrative, the details of which cannot easily be separated.

At the time when the mutinies in the north-west first broke out, the stations of Dacca and Chittagong were garrisoned by detachments of the line,—the former by the 2 companies from the 73rd regiment which have already been so frequently mentioned in connection with the

Bhagalpur and Rajshahi Divisions, the latter by 3 companies from the 34th N. I., of which the remaining 7 companies had been disarmed at Barrackpore—whilst the districts of Sylhet and Cachar were occupied by detachments from the local corps, the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose head quarters were at Cherrapunji in the Khasia Hills.

In the Chittagong Division the presence of the body of native troops was the chief, if not the only, cause for anxiety ; the inhabitants were no doubt perfectly if only passively loyal.

In the town of Chittagong itself the population was a very mixed one, consisting largely of Maghs, Rajbansis, and other Arracanese tribes, with a considerable sprinkling of Christians, and all classes were at least free from any sympathy with the sepoys, and the same may be said of the 2 districts of Noakhali and Tippera. The jungle tracts which run along the whole eastern part of the Division are inhabited by tribes of savages, who, whilst some of them own nominal allegiance to the British Government, and others are the so-called subjects of the Tippera Raja, are in fact but little amenable to any rule, and acknowledge no authority but that of their own petty chiefs.

But neither from these was any danger to be apprehended, and they are for the most part more formidable to each other and to the half-reclaimed savages who have taken refuge within our frontier from the oppression of the more powerful tribes, than to the peace of the Province in general.

In the Dacca Division, on the other hand, there appeared to be much more serious elements of disturbance. The district of Faridpur, the headquarters of the fanatic Ferazis—Backergunge with its notoriously turbulent and insolent population—Sylhet with what was by many believed to be the dangerous presence of the Sylhet Light Infantry, but which, when the time of trial came, proved to be the saving of our European frontier from the very serious peril which threatened it—and beyond all, the city of Dacca, with its large Muhammadan population, which by the local authorities was believed to be at least not well affected to Government, though at the same time their undoubted antipathy to the sepoys was sufficient to prevent their lending *them* any aid or assistance, and I am also bound to say that neither before, nor since the breaking loose of the Dacca detachment, have they by any overt act shown a want of loyalty. I could not, however, but feel considerable apprehension for the tranquillity of these districts and the more so from the extreme difficulty that presented itself in the way of sending any assistance to the authorities. Unlike most other Divisions of Bengal, where in case of any outbreak a temporary divergence of troops intended for the Upper Provinces was sufficient either altogether to prevent any

outbreak, or at least, to avert the more serious consequences this part of the country was, I need hardly say, far removed from any possible resource of this kind ; all despatch of aid must, therefore, be quite independent of any other movement, whilst the only means of despatch was by a circuitous water route, and that too at a time when steamers could be ill spared. The Governor-General, however, convinced of the urgent necessity for maintaining tranquillity in our Eastern Provinces, despatched a body of 100 sailors from the H. C. S. *Zenobia* with two armed pinnaces ; and the presence of these men prevented any serious consequences that would have been otherwise certain to arise from the mutinous outbreak which afterwards occurred, and which, but for their presence, would probably have happened at an earlier and more embarrassing time, and, I need hardly say, been attended with much more serious consequences.

The districts of Sylhet and Cachar were calculated to give still graver cause for apprehension, not only on account of their greater distance from relief, but also from their geographical position in our extreme Eastern frontier, with no barrier between it and Burma, but the small independent territory of Manipur, which, powerless in itself to resist any invasion, was sure to be an indirect source of trouble and annoyance in the event of any weakening in our prestige, since for years past; whenever an opportunity has offered, Cachar has been the starting point for a revolutionary attack on Manipur ; and indeed that portion of the mutinous 34th detachment which reached Cachar was immediately joined by some one or other of the pretenders to the Rajaship of Manipur with a small following, which on the slightest prospect of success would rapidly have increased.

In short, had not the Sylhet Light Infantry displayed an almost unhoped-for loyalty, and, moreover, a very distinguished gallantry, the eastern districts would have been utterly disorganised for an indefinite time, and, even supposing troops to be available, there would have been most serious difficulty in restoring matters to their original state of tranquillity.

Mr. Allen, of the *Sadar* Board of Revenue, had been deputed to Cherrapunji some months before the commencement of any disturbances, and I found it advisable to place the Eastern frontier temporarily under his control, a measure which has been very successful.

The stations both of Dacca and Chittagong were early subjected to panics arising from the presence of the sepoy ; but, in the first case, the arrival of the marine brigade with the 2 armed pinnaces before alluded to, had restored confidence, whilst the judicious measures of Mr. Chapman, the officiating Commissioner of Chittagong, seemed to

have restored confidence to that station as well as to Tippera, which had also been subject to the prevailing uneasiness. The detachment too of the 34th N. I. appeared to have given an earnest of loyalty by a voluntary offer to make use of the obnoxious Enfield cartridge, and for some months the whole Division remained perfectly tranquil.

In the Dacca district meanwhile some uneasiness was caused on the score of a sect of Muhammadans somewhat similar to the Ferazis, under the alleged leadership of one Karamat Ali, who was said to be identical with a well-known *mulla* of that name in the Jaunpur district ; but the identity seems never to have been clearly established, and the excitement, whatever it was, subsided without any outbreak.

In July an increase to the police of the city was sanctioned, and in August confidence was still further restored by the enrolment of the European residents as volunteers, the Supreme Government having thankfully accepted their services.

Mr. Allen reported from the Khasia hills that exaggerated rumours of the fall of the British power had caused some excitement amongst the hill chiefs, and shortly afterwards the ex-Raja of Jaintia (which adjoins the Khasia hills) was found to be intriguing with the Cherra chiefs, with a view to the recovery of his lost possessions. The Commissioner was directed to seize him if possible and send him to Calcutta ; but, on Mr. Allen's representation that this would be making the Raja and the whole proceedings of more importance than they deserved, he was directed to act on his own judgment in the matter, and the Raja was ordered to reside in Sylhet under the eye of the authorities.

At Sylhet itself the detachment of the Sylhet Light Infantry was increased in anticipation of the approaching Muhammadan festival, which, however, here, as elsewhere, passed over without the slightest disturbance.

It was at this time, the latter end of August, that the districts of Sylhet and Cachar were placed under Mr. Allen.

At the end of August, in the regular course of things, a detachment should have been sent from Jalpaiguri to relieve the 2 companies at Dacca ; but, as this would temporarily have doubled the strength of the sepoys there, and as it was not advisable at this time to move bodies of native troops about the country, the relief was postponed for the present, and the supreme Government approved of this. Some uneasiness was shown by the sepoys on receipts of intelligence that a man of their regiment had been sentenced and shot at Jalpaiguri, but there appeared to be no disloyal feeling. Fears for the approaching Muharram were entertained at Backergunge, and at a meeting of the residents it was determined to raise private funds and engage a body of 300 men, com-

posed of Maghs, Native Christians, &c., for the defence of the district, and in the meantime Government was requested to undertake the expence. A reference on this was made to the Government of India, for permission to raise such a body, limited to 200 men, at each *sadar* station, as part of a comprehensive scheme which should embrace all the districts of Bengal, and this was subsequently sanctioned. In Backergunge at this time it appeared especially needful, in consequence of the turbulence and contempt of authority habitually evinced by the people.

The Dacca volunteers made an offer at this time to escort the treasure from the different out-stations to Dacca but arrangements for this had already been made by the local authorities, and the offer was declined with thanks.

A body of 100 sailors intended for service in Assam arrived about the 17th of September at Dacca, where they evinced a mutinous spirit, and wished to decline proceeding any further. The firmness of Mr. C. Casnac, the Magistrate, and of Lieutenant Lewis, commanding the detachment of the Indian Navy at that station, soon reduced them to obedience ; 2 men deserted, the remainder proceeded without further remonstrance. I directed the Commissioner to convey my approbation to Khwaja Abdul Ghani and Abdul Ahmad Khan, two Muhammadan gentlemen, who had given ready aid to Government.

On the 24th October, Mr. Carnac reported that there was an uneasy feeling amongst the sepoys ; this, however, seemed to arise from reports which had been industriously circulated amongst them that it was intended to disarm them, and, on his explanation that no intention of the kind was entertained, the excitement subsided.

In the Chittagong Division everything seemed perfectly tranquil.

In August, 30 percussion muskets with ammunition were sent to the Magistrate of Noakhali. At Chittagong itself the officiating Commissioner was, during the month of September, taking steps to raise the station guard, which had been sanctioned, and this tended to add to the growing confidence. He was also collecting elephants for the Government service. Mr. Courjon, a large landed proprietor in Tippera, proposed to make over to Government 4 or 5 trained elephants on the condition that an equal number of those to be hereafter caught should be given him in exchange. His liberality was suitably acknowledged.

Thus matters remained in these 2 Divisions, till the night of the 18th November, when, without any previous notice, the 3 Companies of the 34th N. I. broke into open mutiny, plundered the treasury, leaving, however, the stamps and records untouched ; broke open the jail, and murdered a *barkandaz* who attempted to resist them, released the

prisoners, whom they pressed as coolies to carry the treasure and ammunition, and, having burned down their own lines and the magazine, marched out of the station, taking with them 3 Government elephants, without attempting any injury to the lives or property of the European residents, who were completely unprepared for the event.

It was at first expected that they would proceed at once to Comilla, the *sadar* station of the Tippera district ; but they soon diverged from the road towards that place, and turned into the jungles and hills of Independent Tippera. At Comilla all the precautions that circumstances admitted of were taken ; the ladies and children were sent off to Dacca, whither also the treasure was conveyed, whilst Mr. Metcalfe, the Judge, and Mr. Sandford, the Assistant Magistrate, remained behind at the station with a view to reassuring the minds of the inhabitants (the other civil officers were at the time absent in the district). The Raja of Tippera was at the same time directed to use every means in his power to prevent the onward movements of the mutineers.

On the evening of the 21st November, an express, conveying the intelligence of what had occurred, reached the authorities at Dacca. At a meeting of the officers, civil and military, including Lieutenant Lewis, it was, after some discussion, unanimously decided that the sepoy must be disarmed.

Accordingly, the seamen under Lieutenant Lewis and volunteers assembled at daylight the next morning, and, having disarmed the different guards in succession, and without any attempt at resistance, they advanced on the lines, which were situated in a strong position at a place called the Lalbagh. Here they found the sepoy and a detail of native artillery, with 2 guns, drawn up, ready to receive them ; as the party advanced, fire was opened upon them, and a sharp engagement, lasting for half an hour, ensued. It is sufficient to say that the sepoy were driven out of their barracks, and the guns carried with great gallantry. The rebels left 41 dead on the ground, whilst 3 were drowned in attempting to cross the river, and a large number were more or less severely wounded ; nor was the victory unattended by loss on our side, 15 were severely and 3 slightly wounded. Of the former 3 died of their wounds. Dr. Green, Civil Surgeon, who in the absence of other medical aid attended the attacking party, was shot through the thigh, and Lieutenant Lewis also received a slight wound.

The volunteers had been left in charge of the treasury and of the disarmed men of the different guards, a few of whom effected their escape, though without their arms, through a window which had been overlooked in the building in which they were confined, 20 prisoners were subsequently taken, 10 of whom were sentenced

to be hung, the remainder to transportation for life. The main body, thoroughly panicstricken, made a hasty retreat from the Division, passed by the stations of Jamalpur and Mymensingh without attempting any attack, and, reaching the Brahmaputra, crossed, as has been previously related, near Bagwa *ghat*, and entered the district of Rangpur. The intelligence of these separate outbreaks reached Calcutta on the same day, and immediate measures were taken to prevent, as far as possible, any further mischief. The Governor-General at once consented to the despatch of a body of European troops, and, as soon as a steamer and flat could be prepared, three companies of H. M.'s 54th were sent off to Dacca to act as circumstances should dictate. With them went a party of European seamen, and a second party followed the next day. These were intended ultimately for the two stations of Rangpur and Dinajpur, but were in the meantime to act as should seem most desirable. With the detachment of the 54th I despatched Mr. C. H. Campbell, of the Civil Service, an officer who was well acquainted with the Eastern Provinces. Mr. A. Abercrombie, C. S., also accompanied the sailors till they landed at Bagwa *ghat en route* for their destination.

The Chittagong mutineers having, as has been related, entered the hills and jungles of Independent Tippera, remained there for some days, taking short marches in a general north-westerly direction, which would eventually bring them into the Sylhet district, whence they might either march direct upon the station of Sylhet, or choose a westerly or easterly course, in the first case crossing a branch of the Megna into the Mymensingh district and, following in the direction taken by the companies of the 73rd, make their escape into the Rajshahi Division; in the second, skirting along the edge of the jungle, pass into Cachar, and thence attempt to reach Manipur; and this last course they eventually took. There can be little doubt that they hoped and expected to be joined by the greater part of the Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion.

By a lavish expenditure of the treasure they had with them, they managed to procure supplies as well as the assistance of some of the hill tribes, who acted as guides and pioneers. Apprehensions were still entertained at Chittagong, as it was feared that the rebels might return and plunder the station, and similar apprehension was felt at the station of Comilla, in the near neighbourhood of which they remained for some days.

The Commissioner took all means in his power for the defence of the station; the ladies and children were sent on board vessels in the port, whilst a temporary fortification was erected for the protection of the male Christian inhabitants, who formed themselves into a volunteer corps. The Commissioner very strongly noticed the good feeling and loyalty

displayed by the native population. A party of 100 seamen were, as soon as possible, despatched from Calcutta for the further defence of the place. At Comilla the courageous attitude assumed by the Civilians had great effect in reassuring the minds of the natives. Many of the liberated prisoners and some small portion of the plundered treasure were captured in the Tippera district.

The detachment of H. M.'s 54th having reached Dacca left the seamen to proceed to their destination in the Rangpur and Dinajpur districts, (and, had the mutineers eventually determined on taking the westerly route above described, these marine brigades would have crossed and intercepted their line of march,) whilst they themselves left Dacca on the 4th December in the steamer and flat, with an intention of proceeding up the Megna and the Surma to Sylhet, and thus anticipating the arrival of the mutineers at that place, for which they then appeared to be making, or, supposing them to take the western route, the detachment would still be in a position to cut them off, should they not yet have crossed, or, if otherwise, pursue them on the western bank. On the 8th December they reached Lakhī, on the eastern bank of the Surma, and here, finding that a further advance was impracticable, the force landed and proceeded by land towards Sylhet.

In the meantime reliable information had been received that the mutineers had at length left the jungles, and on the 13th December had entered the southern part of the Sylhet district.

Mr. Allen, who was now at Sylhet with the headquarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, determined on intercepting them on the route they were now evidently taking towards Cachar and Manipur. Accordingly, on the 15th, Major Byng, who was commanding the Battalion, started with the head quarters for Pratabghar, a distance of 80 miles from Sylhet, which they accomplished in 36 hours, reaching the place on the 17th. Here Mr. Dodd, Civil Engineer, who accompanied the force for the purpose of procuring information, found that the rebels had taken another route, and would reach Latoo, which was at a distance of 28 miles from Pratabghar, during the next night or on the following morning. It was at once determined to make a night march on that place, which—notwithstanding the long forced march which had been already taken and the difficulties which the route to Latoo presented—was accomplished by the men with the utmost cheerfulness, and, as they marched into Latoo at daybreak in the morning, they were met with the intelligence that the enemy were close at hand. They had barely time to form, when the mutineers came in sight, advancing in good order. A smart action took place, in which the rebels were entirely discomfited and fled into the jungles, leaving 26 dead in the field, and carrying off a

number of wounded. On our side the numerical loss was comparatively small, consisting of 5 killed and one severely wounded ; but amongst the former we had to lament the loss of the Hon'ble Major Byng, who was mortally wounded early in the action, whilst most gallantly leading on his men, and died immediately. Lieutenant Sherer, the adjutant of the Battalion, assumed the command, and brought the action to a successful termination. The behaviour of the men on this occasion was admirable. A detachment, numbering not more than 155, met and defeated a body of certainly not less than 200. The rebel sepoy, by solicitations and taunts, tried all in their power to pervert the Hindustanis who formed half of the small force ; but they were only answered by a steady fire.

A Gurkha *jamadar*, named Ganga Ram Bhist, was especially named for the distinguished gallantry displayed by him in the action, and the Commissioner subsequently brought to my notice the conduct of a Gurkha named Subban Khutri, a pensioner, who accompanied his former comrades into the field ; he fell mortally wounded in a hand-to-hand fight. His daughter has since been pensioned.

A *havildar*, who was taken prisoner, was tried by drumhead court martial, and shot immediately after the action. Lieutenant Sherer and Mr. Dodd both received the thanks of Government for the services they had rendered, and the judicious arrangements of Mr. Allen were highly commended.

The headquarters of the Battalion soon afterwards returned to Sylhet, as pursuit through the jungles would have been hopeless ; but detachments were so posted as to intercept the march of the mutineers towards Manipur.

Two Manipur spies, who had given valuable information to Mr. Dodd, received each 100 Rs.

After the return of the headquarters of the Battalion to Sylhet, the *jamadar* Gunga Ram Bhist, who has been noticed above, was sent with 16 men in pursuit of a body of 10 mutineers who were known to be concealed in the jungle near Latoo. He surprised this party, and killed 8 of them.

The main body of the rebels were found to be moving to the eastward, and by the 23rd December had entered the Cachar district. On that day Lieutenant Ross attacked them successfully with a detachment of the Sylhet Light Infantry, inflicting considerable loss on them, and on the following day he again came up with them ; but on this occasion they fled precipitately into the deep jungle, where it was impossible to follow them with any chance of success.

Early in January Mr. Allen was able to dispense with the services of

the companies of H. M.'s 54th regiment, who were ordered to Dacca, there to await further instructions.

This detachment, though they had no opportunity of meeting the rebels, yet did good service in the district, and not only prevented the mutineers from making their escape to the westward, but forced them into the position where they were subsequently attacked and defeated. Colonel Michell, with the officers and men of his detachment, have received from the Government thanks and acknowledgments for the service rendered by them. I have already mentioned that they were accompanied by Mr. Campbell, whose assistance on every occasion was warmly acknowledged by Colonel Michell.

Captain Stevens, who, on the death of Major Byng, had assumed command of the Sylhet Battalion, had in the meantime moved into Cachar.

Notwithstanding the defeats they had suffered, there was still a considerable body of rebels who kept together, and were by degrees making their way through the jungle to the extreme eastern boundary of the district, with the persistent object of proceeding into Manipur, and these had now been joined by some Manipur princes, pretenders to the Raj, with a few followers.

On the 12th January they had taken up a position near the direct road to Manipur, not far from the village of Sukiapur, which it was their intention to plunder. They opened fire on a party under Lieutenant Buist, of the Sylhet Battalion, who had approached their position ; he immediately advanced against them, whilst a second and third party, under Captain Stevens and Lieutenant Ross, made a simultaneous attack. The rebels fought with obstinacy for about an hour and a half, when they fled, leaving 17 dead ; the loss on our side was 2 killed and 2 wounded. This defeat had the effect of detaching their Manipuri allies.

Captain Stevens gratefully acknowledged the assistance he had received from Assistant Surgeon Shircore, who had made himself most useful in obtaining intelligence.

A part of the Kuki Levy was present at this engagement, and vied with the sepoy's in courage and devotion.

Again, on the 22nd of January, Captain Stevens surprised a party of the rebels, numbering about 40, of whom 10 were killed on the spot, whilst the rest fled, leaving their arms, cookingpots, and even their clothes.

On the 26th, a party of 20 men under *jamadar* Bagatbir Singh, of the Sylhet Light Infantry, were detached against what was believed to be a small body of mutineers, but which was found to number from 40 to 50 in a strong position on a hill. Again were they defeated by this small detachment, leaving 13 dead.

They were now completely disorganized and dispirited ; numbers had been killed by Kuki scouts who had been offered a reward for every sepoy killed by them. One petty chief, by name Manjihow, had accounted for not less than 12 of them. Others had been brought in prisoners, as well as some women and children who accompanied them. The remainder were in a state of suffering which it is painful to record, and were even said, in some instances, to have destroyed their children rather than see them starve. Some men were found dead in the jungle from actual starvation, and, to be brief, of the 3 companies which left Chittagong not more than 3 or 4 men are believed to have escaped death or capture.

Considerable sums of money were recovered both in Sylhet and Cachar ; but these are included in the rough estimate which I before gave of the recovered treasure. The women and children taken prisoners have since been released, with permission to retire to their homes.

The services rendered by the officers and men of the Sylhet Light Infantry engaged in these operations have received my frequent acknowledgments. Nothing could exceed the loyalty of the men and native officers, and I have had great pleasure in forwarding to the Supreme Government the recommendations of Mr. Allen for a substantial reward to this most deserving regiment. I have recorded my approbation of the proceedings of Lieutenant Stewart, who at a trying time conducted matters in Cachar to my entire satisfaction. Lieutenant Stewart brought to the notice of Government the valuable assistance rendered by the Manager of the Cachar Tea Company, Mr. James Davidson, who gave very valuable information during the time the mutineers were in the jungles. The scouts employed were chiefly from a village in his grant, and acted under his directions. My acknowledgments were conveyed to that gentleman through the Superintendent. I need hardly say how highly I appreciate the judgment and energy displayed throughout the whole crisis by Mr. Allen. His presence at Sylhet conduced most strongly to the success of the entire operations against the mutineers.

The Raja of Manipur had sent a portion of his own troops to occupy the road leading to Manipur. These were now directed to return, as all danger from the mutineers was at an end. The princes who had taken part with them were captured either at this time or shortly afterwards, and this district was again perfectly quiet.

Mr. Allen reported from Cherrapunji that a Khasia of the name of Surka, a chief adviser of the Cherra Raja, who was at that time confined in the jail for some offence, had been found attempting to tamper with

a sepoy of the jail guard. His term of imprisonment was nearly out, but he was in consequence of this detained ; as soon as the disturbances in the plains ceased, he was released on security.

At Sylhet it was reported in the end of January, that a Muhammadan landholder Haji Syad Bakht, had collected arms ; on enquiring he was found to possess 6 small brass cannon, which he had been in the habit of using for firing during the Muharram. It was not thought prudent to allow him to keep these, and they were accordingly taken possession of.

Nothing worthy of further notice seems to have occurred in either the Chittagong or Dacca Divisions.

An incursion of the Khocluk Kukis into the southern part of Sylhet was quite unconnected with the mutinies. Some ill-feeling was reported to exist amongst the Manipuri inhabitants of Cachar in connection with the capture and trial of the Manipuri princes ; but neither can this be said to have much real connection with the prevailing disturbances, and indeed it was itself a matter of trifling importance, rendering necessary mere local precautions.

It remains to mention those who did good service to the State in these two Divisions during the progress of the disturbances.

I have already alluded to the judicious measures adopted by the officiating Commissioner of Chittagong, Mr. Chapman, both before and after the mutiny. His conduct throughout has merited my high approbation. I have also recorded here and elsewhere my approval of all that was done by Mr. Metcalfe at Tippera, whose promptitude, energy and resolution merited and received my warm acknowledgments. Mr. Sandford also conducted the duties that devolved on him in such a manner as to deserve my approbation.

At Noakhali Mr. Simson was most active and energetic, and was able, by his personal influence amongst the inhabitants, to provide means for resistance in case of any attack on his district, which, as he had a considerable sum in his treasury, was by no means improbable contingency.

I record in a note the names of those native *samindars* and others who have been favorably mentioned by the officers of the Division for assistance rendered, and to whom my cordial thanks have been offered. Mr. Dunne, of the Srimudi factory, was also thanked for his services. Mr. Chapman mentioned having given a reward of 100 Rupees to his coachman, who conveyed to Comilla the news of the outbreak.

The conduct of the Tippera Raja seemed open to some question, as he had done little towards checking the progress of the mutinous attachment ; but the power of this chief is merely nominal, and I trust

that his apparent backwardness will prove to have been the result, not of disloyalty, but of disability to afford Government any substantial assistance.

Mr. Carnac, officiating Collector and Magistrate of Dacca, has acted with great vigour and promptitude throughout the whole course of the disturbances. On the occasion of the actual outbreak at Dacca, he took a prominent part in the attack on the sepoys, and he brought forward very favourably the conduct of his two Assistants, Messrs. Bainbridge and Macpherson. Dr. Green, the Civil Surgeon, who accompanied the body of sailors on this occasion, and, as has been already recorded, was severely wounded, is entitled to very honorable notice, and I must make special mention of the admirable behaviour of the Reverend Mr. Winchester, Chaplain of the station, who, in the service of the wounded men, fearlessly exposed himself in the midst of the fight.

Mr. Carnac has made a separate report of the assistance he has received during the past year from his *nazir*, Jagabandhu Bose, whose services have received acknowledgment and reward.

I take this opportunity of repeating my appreciation of the loyalty of the two Muhammadan gentlemen Khwaja Abdul Ghani and Abdul Ahmad Khan who have been before alluded to in the course of the narrative, and who have been specially mentioned by the authorities.

It has been thought advisable, as a precautionary measure, to strengthen both Dacca and Sylhet. To the former place 3 companies of H. M.'s 10th Foot were some time since despatched, and, on their arrival a portion of the naval brigade, which had hitherto garrisoned Dacca, were pushed on to Sylhet under their commandant, Lieutenant Lewis.

The Manipur Levy, which was raised at Cherrapunji, has been moved to Jamalpur, and all seems to promise a continuance of tranquillity.

ASSAM.

What has been said on the situation of Sylhet and other eastern districts will apply with still greater force to the Province of Assam, which forms our north-eastern frontier; not only with respect to its position as a frontier Province, but also as to its far removal from military resources. Practically all communication with the Presidency is conducted by a long river route. Gauhati, the principal station in Lower Assam, is at a greater distance from Calcutta than Sylhet, whilst to reach the furthest stations in Upper Assam occupies almost as long a time as a journey to England; add to this the neighbourhood of numerous and formidable tribes of savages (with some of whom we are always more or less in collision) and the comparatively recent occupation of the Province

(since the Burmese War of 1826), and it will be acknowledged that these in themselves afford no inconsiderable cause of anxiety.

But it is not only by these inherent sources of weakness that the peace of Assam has, during the past few months, been endangered. The wide-spreading effects of the disturbances in the North-West have been communicated even to this distant part of our dominions, resulting in at least a partial disaffection of the local troops, and, in connection with this a conspiracy, having for its object the subversion of our rule, and I am convinced that had it not been for the judicious measures of the authorities on the spot, and the prompt despatch of assistance from the Presidency, an insurrection would have broken out, damaging not only to the tranquillity of the Province itself, but also perilling the safety of the whole of our eastern frontier.

It was not for some time after the occurrence of the first outbreak in the north-west that any cause for apprehension showed itself in Assam. In July the acknowledgments of the Governor-General were transmitted to the 1st Assam Light Infantry at Dibrughar for the offer of service which they had made to Government. How valueless these professions of loyalty have usually been the experience of the past few months has but too plainly shown ; but there was then but little reason for distrusting these local corps, far removed as they might be deemed to be from any influence which had worked on the regiments of the line, and to a great extent of different composition from those regiments, and at that time little doubt of their fidelity was entertained. Indeed, in July and for some time afterwards, the Governor-General's Agent, Colonel Jenkins, was more apprehensive of any danger that might arise from the probable breaking out of the 73rd N. I. at Jalpaiguri, and of the effect likely to be produced on the Bhutan and other frontier tribes, amongst whom it was not uncommon to find men from Oudh ; and he feared that fugitives from amongst the defeated mutineers might in considerable numbers seek refuge with and take service under the turbulent Bhutan *subas*.

It was not till September that an uneasy feeling began to display itself amongst the men of the 1st Assam Light Infantry at Dibrughar. From carefully conducted inquiries, Colonel Hannay, commanding the Battalion, found that the excitement was produced by letters from Arrah and Jagdishpur, addressed to men, of whom there were many in the regiments, enlisted in the Shahabad district.

The company of Artillery at Dibrughar was also composed of Hindustanis, of whom there were a considerable number in the 2nd Assam Battalion in Gauhati, though in a less proportion than in the first.

It was about the same time discovered by the authorities that some of these men, native officers and others, were in communication with

the Sarang Raja, Kandarpeswar Singh, residing at Jorhat, in whose house, whilst proceeding on furlough, they were reported to have held meetings by night.

The men of the old disbanded Assam militia had also been tampered with.

The Raja himself was a mere boy, and was completely the tool of his *dewan*, Maniram Dutt, who was at this time in Calcutta.

The Raja was arrested in Assam, and, his house being searched, treasonable correspondence from Maniram Dutt was discovered, as well as other letters in a feigned hand and without signature, but no doubt emanating from the same source.

This traitor was at the same time seized in Calcutta, and, having been kept a prisoner for some weeks in the Alipore jail, was sent to Assam, where he was tried in February of this year, convicted, and hung. Four others concerned were tried at the same time, one of whom was hanged, 2 were transported for life, and one for 14 years. The young Raja, who was brought down from Assam, is still in confinement in the Alipore jail.

Meantime Colonel Hannay and the other officers in Assam exerted themselves strenuously to prevent the spread of disaffection, and with great success. The Hindustanis were sent to the different small outposts, where they had no opportunity for communication with each other and combination, whilst the Gurkhas and hillmen attached to the corps, and who might be depended upon, were gradually drawn into head quarters.

Colonel Jenkins brought to prominent notice the names of Colonel Hannay, Captain Reid, commanding the Artillery, and also of Major Richardson and Lieutenant Chambers, of the 2nd Assam Battalion. Captain Holroyd, principal Assistant Commissioner at Sibsagar, did very good service connected with the discovering of the plot and the well-managed arrest of the young Raja, in which he received very efficient assistance from Captain Lowther, of the 1st Assam Battalion, and the party under his command. Captain Bivar, principal Assistant to the Commissioner at Dibrughar, was also very favourably noticed by the Commissioner.

As soon as the intelligence of the discovery of the plot reached Calcutta, I despatched, with the permission of the Governor-General-in-Council, 100 seamen to Assam. They arrived at Gauhati towards the end of September, and, in the beginning of October, Colonel Jenkins was able to report that there was no longer any cause for apprehension. Later in the month the Chairman of the Assam Tea Company wrote to Government, stating that great disaffection still existed amongst the

sepoys at Dibrughar, and that the hill tribes were threatening an attack. A reference was made to Colonel Jenkins, who reported that there was no ground for supposing that the peace of the Province would be disturbed ; he had previously stated that the disaffection was confined to a few of the old nobles of the Province who were in a state of great poverty and wretchedness, and that there was no feeling of discontent amongst the people in general.

The Goalpara district, which is the most westerly part of the Province, had remained altogether undisturbed ; but Colonel Jenkins reported in September that he had taken means for adding to the efficiency of the police in that district by subjecting them to a periodical drill, and by increasing their numbers. On the occurrence of the Dacca mutiny some fears were entertained for this part of the Division. The mutineers did actually destroy the Kuribari *thana*, which lies in the corner of this district, and having plundered the bazar carried off the *jamiadar* and a *barkandaz* belonging to the *thana*. They also plundered Bagwa, and killed, as has been mentioned in a previous narrative, a *barkandaz* of the Goalpara police, who attempted to stop their progress.

At the end of December the Chairman of the Assam Tea Company again called the attention of Government to the defenceless state of Assam and to the danger that was likely to result from the mutinies at Dacca and Chittagong. The Dacca mutineers, as has been seen, had passed hastily through a corner of the Province, and neither the Government nor Colonel Jenkins apprehended any danger from the Chittagong mutineers. The Chairman was informed of this, and was told that it was impossible at this time to allot European troops to Assam. Colonel Hannay had also recommended that European troops should be sent to Assam, and mentioned even in December that some disaffection still existed amongst the men of the detachment at Golaghat ; it was therefore determined to send a second party of 100 seamen, who left on the 31st December, and this opportunity was taken to send (as has previously been noticed) Maniram Dutt to take his trial in Assam.

Since the arrival of this reinforcement, tranquillity seems to have been completely restored in Assam.

Some correspondence took place in March on the supposed existence of a plot in the 1st Assam Light Infantry to murder the Europeans at Dibrughar ; but on inquiry the reports on the subject appeared to be without foundation. Very full details have been received of an expedition, in which a party of the seamen from Dibrughar and a detachment of the 1st Assam Light Infantry took part, directed against one of the above tribes of savages, but which failed owing to the great and unexpected difficulties of the route and the treachery of a supposed friendly

tribe. The aggression, however, which led to this expedition had no connection with the prevailing disturbances, and need be no further alluded to in this place.

In conclusion I must add that I have the fullest confidence in the experience and judgment of Colonel Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, whose proceedings have at all times merited and received my warmest acknowledgments, and who has been ably and zealously supported by all the officers subordinate to him, particularly Colonel Hannay, to whom the greatest credit is due for the prompt and well-conceived measures adopted to meet the impending dangers, and to provide with inadequate means against the threatened rebellion. I believe that there is now no reason for entertaining any apprehensions that the peace of the Province will be further disturbed ; but in order to provide against any risk, a further reinforcement of 100 seamen has been sent to Assam. The most recent measures represent everything as perfectly quiet.

The measures which, with the sanction of the Supreme Government have been from time to time adopted for the preservation of peace and order in the different Divisions under the Government, have been mentioned in connection with the narrative. Such for instance, as the despatch of various marine brigades to different quarters, the increase and improvement of the local police, and the raising of various local bodies, which will hereafter from the foundation of the police Battalions recently sanctioned by the Supreme Government.

But there are some subjects which have received little or no notice in the present narrative, and which, though stated elsewhere, may still here also be cursorily alluded to. Amongst these is the improvement sanctioned by the Government of India in the police of Bihar and of the Grand Trunk road, and the addition to the number of Deputy Magistrates—measures which have been already attended with favourable results, and without which much greater confusion would have been caused in the districts of that Province.

In connection with this may be mentioned the experimental appointment of Honorary Magistrates from amongst the more influential European and native settlers in the different Divisions. Whatever may be the ultimate success of this measure, there can be no doubt of its beneficial effect during the recent disturbances.

Nor is it for its own protection alone that the means and resources of Bengal have been brought into play. The Province may also take credit for the great assistance which has been afforded to the movements of troops towards the north-west by the organised establishments for the collection and supply of carriage and food at Raniganj and the

various depots along the Grand Trunk road. The establishment at Raniganj I had myself an opportunity of inspecting, and I was greatly gratified at the admirable efficiency of all I saw there, and I know that the system worked equally well elsewhere. For all this I am deeply indebted to the late lamented Mr. J. R. Ward, to whom the first organisation of the establishment was due, and to his successor Mr. Elphinstone Jackson, who maintained it in the same high state of efficiency. Mr. Ward was an officer of the highest promise, and in his early death the service has suffered a severe loss. Mr. Jackson has merited my warmest approbation for the manner in which his very responsible duties have been conducted, and a high meed of praise is due also to the officers who worked under him, prominent amongst whom were his uncovenanted assistant Mr. Hampton and Captain Grubb, of the Bengal Army, one of the superintendents of supplies on the Grand Trunk road. But, where all have zealously done their duty, it is almost invidious to distinguish any by name.

The details of this establishment have already been published, and need no recapitulation. The further working of it has been lately made over to the Commissariat Department by order of the Supreme Government.

In connection with the subject of carriage and supplies I take the opportunity of noticing the successful operations of Mr. K. Macleod, of Chapra, who was employed in the purchase of carriage of all descriptions in the districts of Bihar north of the Ganges. He has deserved and received the cordial thanks of Government.

It is not within my Province to offer any opinion on the causes of the mutiny, nor indeed have I had the opportunities of forming a judgment on the subject which would render my opinion of any weight ; but I will not refrain from expressing my conviction that the outbreak, as far as the Lower Provinces are concerned, has been simply a military mutiny, and that there has been at no time anything that can be called a rebellion in the sense in which that term may properly be used.

To say that there has been no rebellion in the Divisions of Bhagalpur, Rajshahi, Burdwan, Nadia, Cuttack, Assam, Dacca and Chittagong, would be a simple truism ; but the disturbances which have taken place in Chota Nagpur and in Bihar may be produced in argument on the other side.

The case of Chota Nagpur is easily disposed of. The risings in that Division have been by no means general, but have in every instance been confined to a small and discontented section of the savage tribes and their hardly less savage chieftains, and often as much from personal animosity amongst the chiefs and people themselves as from

any dislike to British rule. That there has been any difficulty in repressing them arose from the nature of the country and climate and the extreme scarcity of troops, not from any inherent strength or importance in the risings themselves, which in ordinary times would have been easily quelled. Unfortunately, at this particular juncture, the very troops which were depended upon for prompt repression of any such outbreaks had themselves broken out into open rebellion, and it is a matter of wonder that an ignorant and savage population, seeing the troops in open mutiny, the prisoners forcibly released from the jails, the treasuries plundered, and the stations abandoned by the authorities, should not have risen *en masse*, as, had there been any wide-spread feeling of disaffection with the British rule, they would undoubtedly have done. And in truth the events which have from first to last occurred in the Province of Bihar evince no less clearly that there has been no organised conspiracy to rebel, whilst some of the attendant facts and circumstances testify most unmistakeably to the military nature of the movement.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the riot of the 3rd July in the city of Patna itself, in which Dr. Lyell was unfortunately killed; the very ease with which this attempt was put down, and the entire failure to elicit any sympathy, suffice to show how little of concert or conspiracy there was in the city or in the surrounding district of Patna, nor, as I have noticed in the course of the narrative, have the later disturbances had any effect in evoking symptoms of general disaffection in the neighbourhood. The three districts north of the Ganges may be dismissed with very brief notice. All of them, Tirhut, Saran and Champaran—have been more or less exposed to disturbing causes. In Champaran took place the revolt of the 12th Irregular Cavalry; through Tirhut bands of mutineers have passed; and Saran, particularly at a recent period, has been infested by parties of marauding sepoys. In all these districts the stations were at one time or other abandoned by the authorities, and, in short, inducements have not been wanting had there been any hostile disposition on the part of the inhabitants. But what has been the fact? There has never been any thing in the shape of a popular movement; the mutineers have been met and defeated by levies actually raised in these districts, and, lately, we are told that the mutineers have left Saran in disgust because they met with so little sympathy.

There remain the two districts, Gaya and Shahabad. In the first of these there have been constant sources of apprehension; 3 times the jail has been broken open, and hundreds of prisoners scattered over the country. Last year 3 separate bands of mutineers traversed the district

from end to end, and, lately bodies of sepoys established themselves for some days within a few miles of the station of Gaya itself; yet, with these, and with all the convicts loose over the country, the petty outlaw Jodhar Singh is able to collect only some few hundred followers, and is beaten out of the district by less than 300 Sikhs of the Bengal police Battalion; and it is tolerably evident that except with a few of the bad characters with whom riot and disorder are a trade and profession, the rebels have here also met with but little sympathy.

In Shahabad the case is different;—but whilst in the other districts of this Province the absence of any popular movement shows the absence of any popular sympathy with the rebels, the success attained by them in this district is of itself a testimony to the military nature of the revolt. From this district of Shahabad the army was largely recruited, and consequently here as in Oudh the sepoy found that sympathy and assistance which they seek in vain in those parts of the country from which the military drafts were less taken. Yet even here in August last year, a body of 2,000 sepoy, with all the prestige that attached to the name of Koer Singh, and all the great influence he was able to exert, were driven out of the district by the small force under Major Vincent Eyre, and a portion of these returned only in despair, after being successively dislodged from Oudh and Azimgarh. It is needless to enter into the causes which have enabled them for the present to make good their footing here; but even now their rule is one of terror, and not of affection, and though joined by a portion of the military population, and able, it is said, to raise some hundreds of recruits, they are obliged to maintain their position, and obtain their supplies, by a system of uncompromising severity and barbarity. It has already been noticed in the course of the narrative, that for many months Shahabad, as well as the rest of Bihar, was perfectly tranquil, with the exception of some trifling disturbances arising out of petty local causes; in short, with the single exception of this district of Shahabad, there is no trace anywhere of a popular movement, either separately or in connection with the mutinies. An abortive attempt at plot on a small scale is discovered in Assam fomented by discontented sepoy; a few Manipuris take advantage of the presence of the Chittagong mutineers to attempt one of the periodical raids against Manipur, but nowhere is there any sign of combination, nowhere any trace of organised conspiracy. In short, I cannot help expressing my firm conviction, that, as far as I have had any opportunity of forming an opinion, and with reference only to what has come legitimately under my personal observation, there has been no rebellion, properly so called, but simply a military mutiny.

30th September 1858.

F. J. HALLIDAY.

Although it does not fall within his Lieutenant-Governorship, A *Suttee* anecdote. I think the following account of a *Suttee*, as narrated by Sir F. Halliday 70 years later, will be considered interesting, and it has never been printed elsewhere :—

“ *Suttee* was prohibited by law in 1829. At and before that time I was acting as Magistrate of the district of Hooghly. Before the new law came into operation notice was one day brought to me that a *Suttee* was about to occur a few miles from my residence. Such things were frequent in Hooghly as the banks of that side of the river were considered particularly propitious for such sacrifices. When the message reached me, Dr. Wise of the Medical Service and a clergyman (whose name I forget), who was Chaplain to the Governor-General, were visiting me and expressed a wish to witness the ceremony. Accordingly we drove to the appointed place where a large crowd of natives was assembled on the river bank and the funeral pile already prepared, the intended victim seated on the ground in front of it. Chairs were brought for us and we sat down near the woman. My 2 companions, who did not speak the language, then began to press the widow with all the reasons they could urge to dissuade her from her purpose, all of which at their request I made the woman understand in her own language. To this she listened with grave and respectful attention but without being at all moved by it ; the priests and many of the spectators also listening to what was said.

At length she showed some impatience and asked to be allowed to proceed to the pile. Seeing that nothing further could be done, I gave her the permission, but, before she had moved, the clergyman begged me to put to her one more question—“ Did she know what pain she was about to suffer ? ” She, seated on the ground close to my feet, looked up at me with a scornful expression in her intelligent face and said for answer, “ Bring a lamp ”: the lamp was brought, of the small sauce-boat fashion used by peasants, and also some *gli* or melted butter and a large cotton wick. These she herself arranged in the most effective form and then said, “ Light it ; ” which was done and the lamp placed on the ground before her. Then steadfastly looking at me with an air of grave defiance she rested her right elbow on the ground and put her finger into the flame of the lamp. The finger scorched, blistered, and blackened

and finally twisted up in a way which I can only compare to what I have seen happen to a quill pen in the flame of a candle. This lasted for some time, during which she never moved her hand, uttered a sound or altered the expression of her countenance. She then said : "Are you satisfied ?" to which I answered hastily, "Quite satisfied," upon which with great deliberation she removed her finger from the flame, saying : "Now may I go ?" To this I assented and she moved down the slope to the pile. This was placed on the edge of the stream. It was about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, about the same length, and perhaps 3 feet broad, composed of alternate layers of small billets of wood and light dry brushwood between 4 upright stakes. Round this she was marched in a noisy procession 2 or 3 times and then ascended it, laying herself down on her side with her face in her hands like one composing herself to sleep, after which she was covered up with light brushwood for several inches, but not so as to prevent her rising had she been so minded. The attendants then began to fasten her down with long bamboos. This I immediately prohibited and they desisted unwillingly but without any show of anger. Her son, a man of about 30, was now called upon to light the pile.

It was one of those frequent cases in which the husband's death had occurred too far off for the body to be brought to the pile, and instead of it a part of his clothing had been laid thereon by the widow's side. A great deal of powdered resin and, I think, some *ghi* had been thrown upon the wood which first gave a dense smoke and then burst into flame. Until the flames drove me back I stood near enough to touch the pile, but I heard no sound and saw no motion, except one gentle upheaving of the brushwood over the body, after which all was still. The son who had lighted the pile remained near it until it was in full combustion, and then rushing up the bank threw himself on the ground in a paroxysm of grief. So ended the last *Suttee* that was lawfully celebrated in the district of Hooghly and perhaps in Bengal.

The prohibition of this horrible custom which had been a subject of grave apprehension to which the Government, until the time of Lord William Bentinck, had always feared to apply itself was effected without the smallest opposition or difficulty. At first applications for leave to perform it were not unfrequent but being in every case

sternly forbidden were at once abandoned, the Brahmins merely remarking that if the widow was not permitted to burn she would infallibly be struck dead. This never occurred in my district or anywhere else so far as I know."



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, December 1900.

SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

From a photograph by Mess^{rs} Bourne & Shepherd.

CHAPTER II.

SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, K. C. B., G. C. M. G.

1859—62.

IN the preceding Chapter, Sir Frederick Halliday's successor, Sir John Peter Grant, has been constantly mentioned. He was the second son (born 1807) of Sir John Peter Grant, Kt., (1774-1848), of Rothiemurchus, Inverness, M. P. for Great Grimsby and Tavistock, a Puisne Judge of the Bombay Supreme Court, and subsequently a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court from October 1833 to February 1848: (the latter had succeeded to the entailed estate of the Doune of Rothiemurchus on the death of his uncle, Patrick Grant, in 1790: he died at sea on his passage home, 17th May 1848, and was buried in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh.) He was educated at Eton and Edinburgh University; and appointed to the Bengal Civil Service from Haileybury, in 1826. He arrived in India on July 31, 1828, and had therefore done nearly 31 years' service before his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. He served in the revenue and judicial departments in the N. W. Provinces, at Bareilly, 1829, Shahjahanpore and Phillibhit, 1832, and in Bengal, as Deputy Collector of Saran, 1833; as Secretary, to the *Sadar* Board of Revenue, Calcutta, and as Assistant Secretary and Deputy Secretary to Government, 1834; Deputy Accountant and Civil Auditor, Agra; Deputy Secretary to the Governments of India and Bengal, Judicial and Revenue departments, and Superintendent of the Botanic Garden, 1835; Junior Member and Secretary, Prison Discipline Committee, 1836; Secretary to the Indian Law Commission, 1837; Deputy Secretary and Secretary to the Government of India, legislative, judicial and revenue departments, 1838; Private Secretary to the Governor-General, January 1839, and Deputy Secretary, General and Financial departments, 1839; Deputy-Accountant-General, *ex officio* Director of the Bank of Bengal, and Junior Secretary,

Previous career.

Financial branch, 1840 ; on furlough from March 1841 to 1844 ; Commissioner for payment of the Maharaja of Mysore's debts, 1844-47 ; Commissioner for inquiry into proceedings regarding Meria sacrifices in Ganjam, 1847 ; Secretary to the Indian Law Commission, 1848 ; Secretary to Government of Bengal, 1849 ; Secretary to Government of India, Home and Foreign departments, 1852-54 ; Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1854-59, but temporarily Lieutenant-Governor of the "Central" Provinces during the mutiny, 1857-58.

Sir J. P. Grant, it will be seen from the above summary, had a distinguished career. It is recorded of him that

Reputation. his varied abilities, tact and judgment, combined with his unbiassed opinions on all grave questions and his kind feeling for the people marked him as a man suited to the time. His versatile qualities and his knowledge of details of administration in every department, it is said, peculiarly fitted him to deal in a masterly way with all difficult problems. When he was convinced of the soundness of any scheme or measure he would not rest satisfied until he gained over the opposition. Lord Macaulay regarded* him as one of the "flowers of Calcutta Society :" one of the "little circle of people whose friendship I value, and in whose conversation I take pleasure." Both Lords Dalhousie and Canning paid great regard to his counsels.

Mr. Seton-Karr writes (1899.) "The Governor-General, at that time in the very fulness and maturity of his powers and experience, found a colleague who, if he differed on some important questions from a statesman somewhat apt to carry all before him by forcible writing and by personal influence, did not at other times content himself with a brief Minute of concurrence, but supported his chief by State papers, in which cogent arguments were set forth in a style of peculiar dignity and clearness. Mr. Disraeli spoke of Grant's Minute on the Annexation of Oudh as one of the ablest papers in the whole Blue Book. And Lord Dalhousie acknowledged that opposition on some points was almost welcomed by the powerful support brought to bear on the discussion of others on which the Governor-General had set his heart, and in which his colleague concurred."

* *Life and Letters*, Chapter VI., 1834-38.

There is a story on record that, when Belvedere was being furnished for the first time, Sir J. P. Grant induced the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, against his will, to disallow some of the expenditure incurred by the first Lieutenant-Governor, as not covered by the despatch of the Court of Directors on the subject. It is also on record* how, after Lord Canning, in the Mutinies, had not accepted the first offer of the European Community of Calcutta to enrol themselves into a Volunteer Corps for the protection of the city, Sir J. P. Grant on the 10th June 1857 pressed the Governor-General to recall his refusal:—"Your Lordship will see that the general question of having a Volunteer Rifle Corps here, when the Europeans come forward, has been settled both by the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie's Government and the Court's decision thereon. Now not only have these inhabitants come forward, but they are grumbling at their offer having been virtually declined. Certainly an emergency has occurred infinitely greater than was contemplated at the time by any member of Lord Dalhousie's Government." The enrolment of Volunteers was promptly sanctioned by Lord Canning. Writing in 1854 Mr. Seton-Karr stated that the whole weight of the Government of Bengal had rested on the shoulders of Sir J. P. Grant. "It is not easy to estimate the invidious responsibility of such a position as was held by him, while Lord Dalhousie was absent from Calcutta. During his incumbency, several long intricate, and perplexing cases, involving the personal character of officers high in the service, and ending in their removal, were taken up and most carefully investigated, and in *every single instance, without one exception*, the orders of the Bengal Government met with the entire support of the Home authorities. It is rather a wonder that, without a separate and unencumbered Lieutenant-Governor, so much has been done in Bengal, than that more should not have been attempted. The manner of doing the work may, in part, be appreciated by a perusal of such papers as official form and secrecy have permitted to see the light. It has often been a subject of regret to us that there is no way of making important papers known, except through the somewhat laborious process of publishing them in a "Selection." But to such as emanated from the Bengal office during Mr. Grant's incumbency, and under his signature, we shall not hesitate to apply

* Kaye's Sepoy War, Book VII, Chapter IV.

the description given by the most judicious and grave of English historians, of the style of one of the most eloquent and sound of our divines, that there was "no vulgarity in that racy idiom, and no pedantry in that learned phrase," and we have reason to know that Mr. Grant's official career is acknowledged by competent judges to have exhibited better things than mere style, however weighty and precise, such as inflexible impartiality, high sense of honour, undaunted love of justice, and unwearied search for truth." He referred also to "the legal acuteness and the luminous precision which mark all the writings of Mr. John Peter Grant."

Sir John Kaye has given a sketch of Sir J. P. Grant, as a Member of Lord Canning's Executive Council at the time of the Mutinies, which shows his fitness for the office of Lieutenant-Governor.

"He was many years younger than his brother civilian, Mr. Dorin, but he had done infinitely more work. In him, with an indolent sleepy manner was strangely combined extraordinary activity of mind. He was one of the ablest public servants in the country. With some hereditary claim to distinction, he had been marked out from the very commencement of his career no less by a favourable concurrence of external circumstances than by his own inherent qualifications, for the highest official success. No young civilian in his novitiate ever carried upon him so clearly and unmistakeably the stamp of the embryo Councillor, as John Grant. In some respects this was a misfortune to him. His course was too easy. He had found his way ; he had not been compelled to make it. He had not been jostled by the crowd ; he had seen little or none of the rough work of Indian administration or Indian diplomacy. It had been his lot, as it had been his choice, to spend the greater part of his official life in close connection with the head-quarters of the Government ; and, therefore, his opportunities of independent action had been few ; his personal acquaintance with the country and the people was not extensive ; and his work had been chiefly upon paper. But as a member of a powerful bureaucracy his value was conspicuous. Quick in the mastery of facts, clear and precise in their analytical arrangement, and gifted with more than common powers of expression, he was admirably fitted to discharge the duties of the Secretariat. He was a dead hand at a report, and if Government were perplexed by any difficult questions, involving a tangled mass of disordered financial accounts, or a great conflict of authority mystifying the truth, he was the man of all others to unravel the intricate or to elucidate the obscure. Comparatively young in years, but ripe in bureaucratic experience, he entered the Supreme Council towards the

close of Lord Dalhousie's administration. But he had sat long enough at the Board to establish his independence. He expressed his opinions freely and fearlessly ; and his Minutes, when Minute-writing was in vogue, were commonly the best State papers recorded by the Government of the day. Closely reasoned, forcibly expressed, with here and there touches of quiet humour or subdued sarcasm, they cut through any sophistries put forth by his colleagues, with sharp incisive logic, and clearly stated the point at issue without disguises and evasions. On the whole, he was a man of large and liberal views, the natural manifestations of which were, perhaps, somewhat straightened by an acquired official reserve ; and no one questioned the honesty of his intentions or the integrity of his life.

Another writer has stated that he was of retiring and inaccessible habits.

Sir J. P. Grant had succeeded Sir F. Halliday as Member of Council, when the latter became Lieutenant-Governor in 1854. In August 1857, when Mr. J. R. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, was shut up in Agra, the administration of the country about Allahabad, Benares and Cawnpore, fell into abeyance, and it became necessary for closer supervision and more vigorous control to be exercised. Lord Canning determined therefore to depute Sir J. P. Grant there, in the character of Lieutenant-Governor of the "Central" Provinces, to exercise precisely the powers which Mr. Colvin would have exercised, if free to do so. The Viceroy wrote of him—"There is no man in whose capacity for the task of re-establishing order I have so much confidence as Mr. Grant, and certainly none who will act more in harmony with the military authorities." Sir J. P. Grant left Calcutta by steamer on the 7th August and assumed the government of the "Central" Provinces at Benares about the end of August. His deputation lasted till early in 1858, when he resumed his seat in the Council of India on the Governor-General assuming charge of the executive government of the N. W. Provinces from the 9th February 1858. In connection with this period of his service there is a reference to Sir J. P. Grant in letter IX of the "Letters from a competition *wallah*" (avowedly written by the present Sir G. O. Trevelyan, *Bart.*) dated Calcutta, May 11th 1863, which may be quoted here :—

"After Lord Canning, Sir John Peter Grant had the gratification of being the personage most profusely and fiercely maligned by the enemies of the native ; which honourable position he long retained, until of late Sir Charles Wood put in his claim, a claim which has been instantly and

fully recognised. A certain journal made the brilliant suggestion that Sir John Peter, had he dared, would very likely have released the sepoys whom General Neill had ordered for execution, and then proceeded to abuse him as if he had actually so done. This hypothetical case soon grew into a fact. It was stated positively in all quarters that Sir John Peter Grant had set free the murderers of Cawnpore, with a bombastic proclamation, containing the words, "in virtue of my high authority", an expression which at once discredited the story in the estimation of all who knew the man. Sir John and his high authority were reviled and ridiculed in the daily and weekly papers of England and India, in conversation, on the stage, and on the hustings. Meanwhile, with native laziness and good humour, he said nothing, and allowed the tempest to whistle about his ears without moving a muscle. At length the Home Government wrote out to the Governor-General, directing him to take cognisance of the affair; and he accordingly requested the accused party to explain how the matter stood. Then Sir John spoke out, and affirmed that the report was a pure fabrication; that he never enlarged a single sepoy; and that, had he desired to thwart General Neill, such interference would have been entirely out of his power. Hereupon, the press in general proceeded to make amends in a full and satisfactory manner. One newspaper, however, had no intention of letting him off so easily, and put forward an apology which was exquisitely characteristic, and probably diverted the object quite as much as it was designed to vex him. The gist of it was, that Sir John had undoubtedly been falsely charged in this particular instance, but that he was such a confirmed and abandoned friend of the native as quite to deserve everything he had got, and that no contumely, whether rightly or wrongly bestowed on him, could by any possibility come amiss."

In his Minute of the 2nd July 1859 on the services of officers in the Mutinies, Lord Canning alluded to this special duty in handsome terms, thus: "In the Central Provinces the Government for some months availed itself most beneficially of the ability and energy of the Hon'ble J. P. Grant, then a Member of the Supreme Council, and now Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, whose exertions contributed greatly to recall things to order." Sir John Kaye writes of Sir J. P. Grant that "his great abilities had not up to this time been much tested in situations of exceptional responsibility, demanding from him strenuous action in strange circumstances. But although his antecedents, and to some extent, indeed, his habits seemed to fit him rather for the performance of sedentary

duties as Secretary or Councillor, there was a fund of latent energy in him, and he was eager for more active employment than could be found for him in Calcutta." Colonel Malleson describes him as "the ablest member of the Council of the Governor-General. Mr. Grant was, indeed, a man of very remarkable ability. He had a clear and sound understanding, a quick and subtle brain, great independence, and great decision of character. If he had a fault it may have been that he did not always make sufficient allowance for men whose intellect was less vast and whose views were less sound than his own. He failed thus to rate at their full influence on the multitude opinions firmly advocated by others, but which he knew to be untenable. His prescience came thus to be mistaken for dogmatic assertion, his keen insight for conceit. But this slight defect, arising from want of European training, was overborne by the powerful intellect, the high and lofty ideas, of one of the greatest members of the Indian Civil Service." Sir R. Temple, writing in 1882, referred to Sir J. P. Grant as a "man of commanding talent, and one of the ablest men that the Bengal Civil Service has ever produced;" and Sir H. S. Cunningham in his *Earl Canning* (Rulers of India Series) alluded to him as "a civilian of exceptional ability."

The *Hindu Patriot* of May 12th 1859 anticipated Anticipation. public approval for Sir J. P. Grant. It wrote of him :

" His mind is imbued with the large English spirit, while his knowledge of the real circumstances of the people he has to govern is sufficiently extensive. He too has given ample evidences of a vigorous understanding, strong will, independence of character and thorough appreciation of the duties of an Indian Statesman. If he is somewhat reserved in his disposition, his stern uprightness and brilliant intellectual qualities go far to instal public confidence in his favor. His opinions on the salient points of administration are also well-known to the public which will watch his career. He is not a senseless decrier of the Permanent Settlement; he has refined ideas on the subject of legal reform, he is well conversant with the condition of the judicial institutions of the country, and thinks approvingly of the political aptitude and aspirations of the people whose fate he will have to direct. He is known to be prepared to carry out an imperial system of education; and against an undue and unequal distribution of patronage his unswerving

firmness and decision of character and honesty of purpose offer a strong guarantee."

Sir J. P. Grant then, as Member of the Viceroy's Council was, like Sir F. Halliday before him, eminently eligible for the vacancy in the Lieutenant-Governorship, to which he was nominated and succeeded on the 1st of May 1859. His Private Secretaries were successively Major A. C. Plowden of the 50th N. I. and Capt. J. R. Pughe of the 47th N. I.

The indigo question, as will appear later, occupied the principal place in the Sir J. P. Grant's labours. A brief sketch of other important matters of his administration has been given in Mr. Seton-Karr's "Grant of Rothiemurchus" :—

"Much was done to facilitate intercourse and to expend judiciously the imperial and local resources in the construction of roads. Railways met with his earnest support, and civil engineers were delighted at the capacity for mastering the details of their business which the Lieutenant-Governor evinced. The improvement in jails and jail discipline went on with steadiness. Fresh rules were laid down for the examination of pleaders in the Civil Courts, and means taken to prescribe standard works for all candidates, and to have such works translated into the vernaculars. A great but important change in the Civil Courts of first instance was effected, by which, without increase of expenditure, superfluous officials were removed, and better salaries were given to the real doers of the work, who were receiving a remuneration wholly inadequate to their maintenance, whilst exposed to manifold temptations. The whole machinery for the imposition and collection of the income tax was organised, and the tax itself was collected with as little general discontent as was possible in the nature of things. Act X of 1859, the Charter of the agriculturists, was improved, and a law for the extension of the *zaminadari* postal service was brought well-nigh to completion. Local resources, especially those raised for the conservancy and police of large towns, were husbanded, and the Lieutenant-Governor went on several of those tours of inspection which tend so much to the real despatch of business, and have the merit of making rulers and subjects acquainted with each other, to their mutual benefit. A broad and business-like scheme for vernacular education, capable of an expansion which has no limit but the wants of the people and the demands on the State purse, was submitted to the Government of India."

The second great despatch on Education (No. 4 of the 7th April 1859) from the Secretary of State reached Education. India soon after Sir J. P. Grant had assumed office. It examined the results of the orders of 1854 and, to quote again the words of the Education Commission of 1882, it "reviews the progress made under the earlier despatch which it reiterates and confirms, with a single exception as to the course to be adopted for promoting elementary education. While it records with satisfaction that the system of grants-in-aid has been freely accepted by private schools, both English and Anglo-Vernacular, it notes that the native community have failed to co-operate with Government in promoting elementary vernacular education. The efforts of educational officers to obtain the necessary local support for the establishment of vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid system are, it points out, likely to create a prejudice against education, to render the Government unpopular and even to compromise its dignity. The soliciting of contributions from the people is declared inexpedient, and strong doubts are expressed as to the suitability of the grant-in-aid system as hitherto in force for the supply of vernacular instruction to the masses of the population. Such vernacular instruction should, it is suggested, be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government on the basis of some one of the plans already in operation for the improvement of indigenous schools, or by any modification of those plans which may suit the circumstances of different Provinces. The expediency of imposing a special rate on the land for the provision of elementary education is also recommended to the careful consideration of the Government." The Secretary of State also drew attention to the question referred to in Sir F. Halliday's Minute of 1858, viz., whether there was any connection between the recent disturbances in India and the measures in progress for the prosecution of education, with special reference to the feeling of jealousy prevailing in Bihar previously to the outbreak in 1857. The Annual Reports on Education contain ample statistics, and show that the lines laid down by the Secretary of State were followed, but progress was impeded by the state of the finances. Sir J. P. Grant made a beginning with Primary Education, as will appear later.

Sir J. P. Grant had been Lieutenant-Governor only two months when the following Proclamation was issued by Lord Canning :—

“The Restoration of Peace and Tranquillity to the Queen’s Dominions in India makes it the grateful Duty of the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council to direct that a Day be appointed for a Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for His signal Mercies and Protection.

Day of Thanksgiving after the Mutiny.

“War is at an end ; Rebellion is put down ; the Noise of Arms is no longer heard where the enemies of the State have persisted in their last Struggle ; the Presence of large Forces in the Field has ceased to be necessary ; Order is re-established ; and peaceful Pursuits have everywhere been resumed.

“The Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council desires that Thursday the 28th of July be observed as a Day of General Thanksgiving for these great Blessings, and as a Holiday throughout British India, by all Faithful Subjects of the Queen.

“Especially His Excellency-in-Council invites all Her Majesty’s Christian Subjects to join in a humble Offering of Gratitude and Praise to Almighty God for the many Mercies vouchsafed to them.”

The Bengal Administration Report for 1859-60 is the first of the series that contains any attempt at a literary style.

Dacoity.

The previous reports were, with hardly any exception, mere compilations of facts and statistics : this one was evidently composed with some attention to the manner as well as the matter, and with the intention of inviting rather than repelling perusal. For instance, it was found possible to make the subject of *dacoity* interesting in the following paragraphs :—

“Gang-robbery or *dacoity* is one of the most prevalent of Indian crimes. But it is not of an uniform nature ; it wears a different complexion in different districts. In the frontier Provinces of Arracan, Chittagong, and Tippera, the crimes which are reported as *dacoities* are generally mere border raids, committed by savage and uncivilized tribes, sheltered by inaccessible mountains and dense forests from our observation and revenge. At times they are impelled from their mountain fastnesses by the pangs of hunger and the hope of plunder in the peaceful villages of the plains. At times they are urged on by a murderous thirst for human blood, with the sole object of obtaining heads to place round the grave of some departed chieftain.

“But the *dacoits* in Bengal have nothing in common with these savage mountaineers. They differ little from the common thief. Armed with clubs, swords, and torches, they attack a defenceless family or waylay some unguarded boat ; but they are arrant cowards, and seldom persist in their attempt if the slightest show of resistance is made. Still

the very existence of gang-robbery in any shape, however modified, must, if not checked, reflect discredit upon the Government. But in this country crime is difficult to reach, more difficult still to eradicate. We have to deal with a people who are too apathetic to exert themselves individually for the suppression of crime, and with landowners, who too often are more interested in sheltering the criminal than in giving him up to justice. But in spite of all these disadvantages much has been done. The Commission for the suppression of *dacoity* has during the last year greatly extended its operations and it has now its ramifications in nearly every district of Bengal. Great, too, has been the success of its exertions. In many districts the crime may be said to be almost extinct. The following statistics will show at a glance how vigorous have been the exertions of Government to check this indigenous and once prevalent crime :—

| Year. | No. of cases. | Year. | No. of cases. |
|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|
| 1852 | 520 | 1858 | 190 |
| 1856 | 292 | 1859 | 171 |

"These statements do not, however, include the whole of Bengal, but only those districts which are immediately under the Commissioner for the suppression of *dacoity*."

The success of the *dacoity* Commission in Bengal determined Sir J. P. Grant to establish a similar Commission for Bihar, and to commence operations in the next cold season.

"There is one class of *dacoits* against whom our operations have not at present been equally successful. River *dacoits*, as a body, have been far more fortunate in evading justice than their brethren on land. The reason of this is obvious. The large rivers, which in Bengal are the highways of traffic and in many places the only channels of communication between one part of the country and another, afford great facilities for the commission of *dacoity* and oppose great obstacles to the discovery of the perpetrators. For when a boat is attacked and plundered in a solitary place, far removed from any village or other habitation, the unfortunate traveller, ignorant of the locality generally, prefers continuing his journey to instituting an inquiry, which involves certain trouble, and promises but doubtful success. Where a *dacoity* is committed upon land, it is comparatively easy to track the footsteps of the *dacoits* but it is almost impossible to do this upon water.

"The Sundarban channels and the rivers of the Backergunge district have been long infested with powerful gangs of river *dacoits*. The impunity which these men have long enjoyed convinced the Lieutenant-Governor that some special measures were necessary for the protection of the numerous merchants and travellers who pass by the Sundarban

route to the districts of Eastern Bengal and Assam. It was accordingly determined as an experimental measure to send a small steam gun-boat under the charge of the Assistant *Dacoity* Commissioner, to cruise about those localities in which *dacoities* were of the most frequent occurrence. From the short trial the experiment has had, there are good grounds for entertaining hopes of its ultimate success. The Assistant Commissioner has collected a mass of useful information regarding the chief *dacoits* of the district; the gangs with which they are connected; and the beats within which their operations are confined. It appears that the greater number of *dacoities* in those parts are committed by professional clubmen, who divert themselves with *dacoity* when they can find no employment in their own line upon land.

"In addition to the information collected, the Assistant Commissioner succeeded in making several arrests and in one case the arrested *dacoit* turned approver, and disclosed the names of his former accomplices. In cases of *dacoity*, where direct evidence of the crime is seldom procurable, the evidence of an approver often discloses a chain of circumstantial evidence which leads to the conviction of a whole gang, and the Assistant Commissioner entertains hopes that, by judiciously following up the information he has obtained, both from approvers and private sources, he will, in a short time, be able to break up the greater number of the gangs which now infest the Sundarban channels to the great detriment of travellers and commerce."

A proposal made by the Civil Finance Commission in 1861 to abolish the *Dacoity* Commission was successfully resisted by Sir J. P. Grant on the ground of the utility of the Department and the cheapness of its working.

Sir J. P. Grant made several tours in the year 1859-60 both by water and by land. One of these extended from

Tours. the 3rd January 1860 into March, chiefly in the Chota Nagpur and Patna Divisions. Throughout his whole march in Bihar, including the Shahabad district, which had been so long and so lately disturbed, he was much struck with the very marked respect which the whole demeanour of the people showed to the British Government.

In Sir J. P. Grant's time the advantages of the Parasnath hill as a sanitarium were fully examined. It is the highest of the range of hills separating Lower Bengal from Bihar, through which the Grand Trunk road runs. It stands off from the range on its south-eastern face, thus overlooking

the plains between the valleys of the Damodar and Barakar rivers : it is 48 miles from Barakar, and 16 from Karharbali, on the East Indian Railway. Its summit is 4624 feet above the sea, and the mass of the hill overhangs the Grand Trunk road between 189 to 198 miles from Calcutta. Sir F. Halliday ascended the hill in February 1855, but was not favourably impressed with its capabilities as a sanitarium : later examination, however, showed it to possess many desirable qualities. As several Engineers spoke well of it in regard to water and in other respects (as the thermometer did not rise above 73° and showed a minimum difference of 15° as compared with the plains), Sir J. P. Grant inspected it personally in January 1860, and strongly recommended that a small sanitarium should be formed there, with a barrack for about 60 invalid soldiers, and bungalows for a few officers and other Europeans. As the Jain pilgrims evinced a strong feeling against the eastern portion of the hill being made a military sanitarium, the western portion (divided from the eastern by a deep cut) which the pilgrims never visited, was chosen for the building sites. Sir J. P. Grant ordered a road to be cut in anticipation of the approval of the Government of India. The Governor-General approved. Sites were accordingly cleared, a road was cut up the western side of the hill, and the foundations of a bungalow laid. Owing to a remark of the Secretary of State that Parasnath, though of limited extent, appeared in other respects to be suited for a sanitarium, that any remaining doubt on the subject would be cleared up if a few thatched tents were erected and occupied during the hot season, and that in the meanwhile no permanent buildings should be commenced, Sir J. P. Grant resolved to try the climate himself. Tents having been thatched for his accommodation, he left Calcutta on the 17th of April 1861, and remained on the top of the hill till the 20th May, when a fire, accidentally breaking out, destroyed the tents, and compelled him to return to the Presidency. About the 31st of May he returned to Parasnath, where he lived in unthatched tents, transacting business, till about the end of June ; the rainy season having for some weeks previously set in, and very heavily. The results of these visits convinced Sir J. P. Grant that, so far as climate was concerned, no further knowledge of it could be gained, or was required. By the year 1863-64 accommodation for 32 men on

the hill had been completed. For 4 years invalids were sent there and derived benefit from its climate. But in 1867-68, the hill was abandoned by Government as a military sanitarium (although several improvements had been but recently effected,) on the grounds of insufficiency of water and space, of unfavourable medical returns, and of the greater economy of Darjeeling. The various buildings were made over to the Public Works Department and disposed of. Certain members of the Svetambara sect of Jains set up a claim to the exclusive use of the hill, under a document purporting to be a *firman* of the Emperor Akbar. But Government acknowledged no obligation to recognise the claim, and the genuineness of the document was doubtful.

An inquiry made by the Secretary of State in regard to the success which had attended the cultivation of the Tea.

tea plant in Assam led to the submission of reports from the local officers, and the subject came prominently under the consideration of Government. Clearances of land were found to be steadily advancing throughout the districts of the North-East Frontier Agency. Large beneficial results had attended every advance so made, not only by the reclamation of extensive tracts of waste and jungle lands, but also by the large introduction of capital into the province, and its employment under European direction in the highly remunerative cultivation of tea. The Assam Tea Company, formed in 1837, produced 10,000 lbs of tea in 1840: in 1858 the production was 7,70,000 lbs: in 1859 there were 20 factories at work and the profits of the Assam Tea Company were 9 per cent. *per annum*. At the time of the inquiry, there were reported to be 7,599 acres, in a more or less forward state, under cultivation in Assam for tea: the produce of which, for the last year, was 1,205,689 lbs. It was stated that an acre well cultivated would give something more than 6 maunds of tea, and that if the land under cultivation only gave the low average of 5 maunds per acre the produce would be upwards of 3 millions of pounds. The difficulty of procuring sufficient labour in the Province was already felt, attributable partly to the scantiness of the population and also to the natural indolence of the Assamese. The hire of the labourers had risen from Rs. 2/8 and Rs. 3/*per mensem*, to Rs. 4/ and Rs. 4/8 nominally, but really higher, as extra wages could be earned. Certain proposals were made and

considered, and suggestions for a system of cooly immigration under regulation were offered by Government. In Cachar tea cultivation had commenced only about 4 years before : the last year's crop was about 1000 maunds, and a portion of it had realized in the London market 2s. $2\frac{1}{6}d.$ per lb. and was pronounced quite as good as, if not superior to, the teas grown in Assam. On the 4th January 1856 the Magistrate of Sylhet announced the discovery of the tea plant. Several hundreds of acres were under cultivation in Darjeeling, where the first trial of the tea plant was made in 1841 with a few seeds grown in Kumaon from China stock. In 1856 the first plantation was started at Kurseong and another at Darjeeling, and progress was being made on a considerable scale. The Superintendent of Darjeeling confidently anticipated that the district teas would very soon rank with the highest class of Indian teas : the labour difficulty did not present itself in Darjeeling, coolies being almost always obtainable from Nepal.

Allusion has previously been made to the question of the suppression of the *Charak Puja*. The Calcutta Mis-

Charak Puja. sionary Conference again petitioned the Legislative Council to prohibit hookswinging at this festival ; and the petition was forwarded to the Secretary of State. Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that every opportunity should be taken of discountenancing the practice, and they suggested the propriety of inserting, in all leases for Government lands, a provision hostile to the celebration of the festival ; of enlisting in the same direction the sympathies of the leading members of the native community, and of quietly making known the disapprobation with which such spectacles were regarded by Government. Sir J. P. Grant called on the Commissioners of Divisions to furnish reports on the subject. From these it appeared that hookswinging was confined to Bengal proper and Orissa. Where this practice existed as a long established custom the local authorities were directed, by using their personal influence, and by obtaining the co-operation of the *zamindars*, to induce the people voluntarily to abandon the practice. On the other hand, where *Charak* swinging was not an established custom but a mere occasional exhibition, the Magistrates were authorized to prohibit its celebration as a local measure of police for the preservation of order and decency. The practice was reported to be gradually dying out.

The Sonthal *Parganas* were reported in 1859-60 to have greatly improved under the able administration of the Commissioner, Mr. Yule, c. s. A fair rice crop enriched the agricultural portion of the population, and the great demand for labour, which the railway created, afforded a remunerative occupation for those not engaged in agricultural pursuits. The people seemed generally contented and happy. The system of bond-labour, fully discovered in 1858, was broken up. The bondsmen were of two descriptions, known by the names of Kameoti and Hurwahi bondsmen. A Kameoti bondsman was one who, in consideration of a sum of money, bound himself and his heirs to serve the giver of the loan until the money was repaid with interest. The Hurwahi bondsman similarly bound himself to work for the money-lender whenever his services might be required. The Kameoti bondsman generally lived with the bondholders and was, in fact, his domestic servant. The Hurwahi bondsman, on the contrary, was a sort of out-door labourer and was only employed when his services were required. The bondholders, for the most part, consisted of shopkeepers, merchants, and *chaudhris* who found it profitable to take land and cultivate it by slave-labour. Several cases of bondage came to the notice of the authorities, and the bondsmen were at once released from their securities. The system of bondage which had once extensively prevailed gradually disappeared under the protection afforded by a vigorous administration.

In the Sonthal country there was some excitement in the Naya Dumka division, caused principally by the proceedings of Mr. C. Barnes, a farmer of an estate under the Court of Wards, who had had the lands measured, and had enhanced the *raiayats'* rents—chiefly in one *pargana*—to an extent beyond their power to pay. Mr. Barnes finally agreed to accept an increase of 25 *per cent.* and quiet was restored.

The people and Government of Bhutan had, in 1856 and subsequently, carried off several of our subjects and would not release them. At last, after 4 years of fruitless Bhutan. forbearance, Government was compelled to carry into execution a threat long since made, of taking possession of the portion of the Bhutia territory situated on the west bank of the Tista, within the district of Rangpur. This tract had been given up to the Bhutias in 1779 by the order of Mr. Hastings, from political

considerations and a desire to avoid all misunderstandings with the Bhutia Government. In 1842, it again came into our possession, subject to a yearly rental of 2,000 rupees, which was regularly paid to the Bhutan Government. This annual payment was accordingly stopped in 1860, but it was considered doubtful whether this single measure of retributive justice would bring the Bhutias to their senses.

All representations to the Bhutan Government regarding aggression on the frontier proved ineffectual. Payment of the rents of Ambari Falakata was frequently demanded. Further depredations were reported. The *Subas* and *Katmas* (the Bhutia officials) were suspected of being the instigators. An interview took place between the *Suba* of Mainaguri and the Deputy Magistrate of Titalya. At the beginning of 1862 the Superintendent of Darjeeling and the Government officers on the frontier reported that the Bhutias were making hostile preparations for the purpose of entering our territory and occupying Ambari Falakata, and that an attack on Darjeeling was apprehended. Two companies of Her Majesty's 38th Foot and a wing of the 10th Native Infantry were immediately despatched from Dinapore to the neighbourhood of Darjeeling, and a wing of Irregular Cavalry from Oudh to Jalpaiguri. The presence of these troops restored confidence on the frontier. In March there took place an interview between the Darpan Raja and the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East frontier. The letters purporting to be replies from the Deb Raja to the demands of Government for redress were believed to be spurious. At last, Government resolved to send a mission into Bhutan, as the only means of explaining the precise nature of our demands and the measures they would be compelled to adopt if those demands were not conceded.

The hill tribes of the district of Chittagong had for a long time given serious trouble and annoyance to Government. Chittagong Hill Tribes.

The nature of the country they inhabited rendered it extremely difficult to retaliate against them with any effect. The tribes were, in their social condition, but little removed from savages : and for several years the tract of hill country had been the scene of murderous raids committed by them. The Shindus, a numerous and powerful race in the south-east of the Chittagong district, and the

Kumias, were the chief perpetrators of these outrages, and their incursions extended from Manipur to Arracan. The causes of these raids were various. A private quarrel with a neighbouring clan, a scarcity of women and domestic servants, and the consequent necessity of procuring a requisite number of captives to supply the wants of the tribe, the simple desire of plunder, or of obtaining heads to grace the obsequies of some departed chieftain, were the principal causes which led to the commission of these raids. When an outrage of this nature had been committed, it was very difficult to reach the offenders. Before troops could arrive upon the spot, the marauders had retired with their booty to their labyrinth of hills, and pursuit was almost hopeless in a country everywhere intersected with precipices and watercourses, and covered with densest jungle. The villages, too, in which these savages resided, were stockaded, and the paths strewed with caltrops and other devices to render the approaches as dangerous and difficult as possible. Hitherto it had been the policy of Government to manage these wild tribes as much as possible through the influence of a powerful family called the Poangs, whose authority was considered to extend over the whole country south of the Chittagong river, to the borders of Arracan. Arms and ammunition were distributed to the Poangs, and a considerable remission of revenue was made to enable them to keep up the necessary stockades for the defence of the frontier. To some extent these measures were attended with success. But forays were still made upon our subjects of the plains, and the marauding tribes seldom met with the punishment they deserved. Government accordingly resolved to commence a different policy. The hill tracts to the east of the plain country of Chittagong were withdrawn from the operation of the general Regulations; and a Superintendent, with Magisterial powers, was appointed to exercise due supervision and control over the numerous tribes who inhabited that almost unknown country. It was hoped that, by the information which frequent intercourse with the various Chiefs would enable the Superintendent to collect, Government would eventually be able to adopt measures for the civilization of these wild tribes, and for the effectual check of these border raids, which had hitherto proved so disastrous to the inhabitants of our eastern frontier.

At the beginning of 1860 the Kukis, a tribe living in the Chitta

gong hills between the Karnafuli and Fenny rivers, left their mountain fastnesses and attacked some hill villages Kukis, under our protection, near the source of the Fenny.

Following the course of the stream, they attacked and destroyed the village of Ramghar : and from thence, inclining to the north-west, they made a sudden descent on the plains of Tippera. They killed 187 persons in the plains and above 100 were carried off as slaves. The outrages committed in the hills were equally atrocious, and it was believed that 300 persons in all were killed, and 200 more carried captive. So great was the alarm caused by his inroad that whole villages along the frontier were deserted ; and even in the town of Comilla serious apprehensions of an attack were for a time entertained. But the savages had no intention to face the attack of an organized body of troops. Before the military police had arrived upon the spot, the marauders had retired to their hills, and the season of the year rendered it inexpedient to pursue them. The punishment of this barbarous tribe was of necessity deferred till the next cold season.

The Kukis were punished in 1860-1, as contemplated, for their raids into frontier villages in the Chittagong district in the previous year. Early in January 1861, a force of 1,250 military police under Captain Raban started from Chittagong, penetrated into the Kuki country, carried the stockade of Rutton Poea, the ringleader, and retired. A survey of the country visited was acquired. The Kukis, however, invaded the territories of the Raja of Independent Tippera, and subsequently made a less serious incursion into our own hill country lying to the south-east of the Karnafuli river, beyond our outposts, but under the protection of the Poang Raja. One party was, however, intercepted and dispersed with loss, and another was partly cut up. For the future security of the eastern frontier, in addition to the frontier posts which had already been established with marked success within our own territory, the civil police were supplied with fire-arms and endeavours were made to train the villagers to habits of self-defence. The Superintendent was instructed to keep a vigilant watch upon the trade of the hills, and to exclude from the markets of the plains all tribes which displayed a spirit of opposition to his authority. Such exclusion, (it was expected), would be severely felt, for these markets were the chief

outlet for the productions of the hills, where the savages bartered their hill cotton and coarse cloth for rice, salt, hardware, gunpowder, and matchlocks. The Poang Raja was compelled, as required by his agreement, to keep up his own chain of frontier posts in an efficient state of defence ; and an officer was despatched to the *darbar* of the Raja of Independent Tippera to insist upon similar measures being adopted along the Tippera frontier.

The outrages committed in the Mymensingh district by the Garos who inhabited the range of hills between

Assam and Bengal Proper necessitated the despatch early in 1861 of 2 forces of military police under Captain Morton and Lieutenant Chambers, which successfully inflicted punishment on the offenders. To reclaim these hill-savages from barbarism, and bring the people into closer contact with civilization it was proposed to intersect the country with roads.

About the same time there was a rising among the Khasias of the Jaintia hills to the north of the district of

Khasia rebellions. Sylhet and adjoining Cachar on the west. This country came into our possession in 1835, when the Raja Raj Indra Sing voluntarily resigned his authority over an unprofitable tract, for a pension of 500 rupees a month. In 1858, it was resolved to impose a house-tax on the country. The people resisted and were punished, and the tax was paid without demur.

A rebellion took place again among the hill Khasias in January 1862, and a display of military force to quell it was required. Two native regiments were despatched from the Presidency to assist the local troops. By the end of March Brigadier-General Showers and Major Rowlatt considered the military operations at an end. The causes of the outbreak were very obscure. The revolt was attributed by Bengali merchants, who were in the habit of trading in these hills, to the Income Tax ; and by others to undefined anticipations of further taxation. On the other hand, there were no visible signs of discontent when the tax was collected, as it was, throughout the Jaintia hills. Some of those questioned by Major Rowlatt again made no mention of taxation as a cause, but spoke of the establishment of a Christian Mission ; of a prohibition to burn dead bodies in a certain place, which had been issued on sanitary grounds, but was interpreted to affect religion ; and of the interference of the

Jowai *daroga* with a festival at Jalong. General Showers also mentioned the taking away of the shields of the Singtengs, or chiefs. Major Rowlatt thought that all these causes might have had more or less effect in inciting to rebellion a people naturally turbulent.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Khasias, the Kukis committed raids on the Sylhet valley, and on Independent Tippera. No connection was established between the Kuki outrages and the Khasia rising. A very serious riot took place at Phulguri in Nowgong on the 18th October 1861, in which Lieutenant Singer, the Assistant Commissioner, lost his life at the hands of the mob.

In Sambalpur, Major Impey, by a policy of conciliation, induced the surrender of the rebel chiefs who had been out since 1857.

Native States. He offered free pardon and restitution of confiscated property to all rebels with the exception of Sarundar Sahai, Udant Sahai, and Mitter Bhan, son of Sarundar Sahai. By a Notification of 30th April 1862 Sambalpur and its dependencies were made over to the Central Provinces.

In the beginning of 1862, a disturbance broke out in *kila* Boad, Boad. in the Tributary *Mahals* of Cuttack. It apparently originated indirectly in some dispute between the Rajas of Sonepur and Boad respecting the right of a tract of country called the Bara Bhaya Des, which was divided into 12 Des or Muthas, and was principally inhabited by Kundhs. The country was formerly under the nominal sway of Boad, but it was alleged by the people that it was made over to Sonepur by the Boad Raja. The Kundh rebels attacked the Boad Raja who had exasperated them. They agreed to accept our terms with a view to settle their grievances, and retracted when expeditions were sent against them. Subsequently the rebels proved anxious to make their peace with Government, and Narain Mullick their ostensible leader, as well as the principal *sardars*, surrendered.

Indigo disturbances. In 1871-72 Sir G. Campbell wrote that "the Government of the second Lieutenant-Governor was a continued struggle with questions arising out of past lawlessness and affecting important interests which suffered by the transition from an old-fashioned state of things to a rule of law and order. He succeeded in this task, and achieved a very lasting improvement, but he was, it is believed, wearied by the struggle,

and retired before completing the usual term of office." The disputes connected with indigo cultivation in Bengal had long been a subject of anxiety to Government. In the years 1854-55 a proposal to re-enact sections II and III of Regulation V of 1830, for the purpose of enforcing the execution of contracts relating to the cultivation and delivery of the indigo plant, was much discussed, but no special legislation was thought to be necessary. In the year 1856, reports were called for from several Divisional Commissioners as to how the indigo sowing season of that year had passed off in respect of such disputes; but nothing of importance calling for the immediate interference of Government, or of the Legislature, was then brought to notice. It was not until the commencement of 1859, a little before Sir J. P. Grant's succession to the Lieutenant-Governorship, that the question began to press itself unavoidably upon Government. In April of that year a planter in the district of Barasat complained of a general disinclination among the *raiayats* of his concern to cultivate indigo. This feeling he attributed, not to the unremunerative price for the crops, but to the conduct of the District Magistrate, which he averred was openly hostile to the interests of indigo planting. On inquiry, however, it appeared that the conduct of the Magistrate complained against had been perfectly legal and impartial. In cases of such disagreement, it was manifestly the duty of the Magistrate to leave the parties to make their own bargains as their mutual interest might direct, and this was what the Magistrate appeared to have done. At the desire of the previous Lieutenant-Governor, the Magistrate used his good offices to bring the complaining planter and the *raiayats* together, but no good seemed to come of the attempt. About the same time, a difference of opinion arose between the same Magistrate (the Hon'ble Sir A. Eden) and Mr. A. Grote, the Commissioner of the Division, on the question of the general interference of the police in cases of disputes arising from planters sowing or attempting to sow the land of the *raiayats* with indigo against their will, on the plea of a contract. An application had been made to the Magistrate by certain *raiayats* for protection against a planter who, they said, was going forcibly to plough up their lands, and to sow them with indigo. The Magistrate had ordered the police to proceed to the spot, instructing them, if the land appeared to be really the property of the

raiayats, not to allow any one to interfere with it. Mr. Grote objected to this order, on the ground, chiefly, that it imposed upon the *daroga* undue responsibility. This difference of opinion was referred for the decision of Government, as a general question respecting the employment of the police. The Lieutenant-Governor gave it as his opinion that Sir A. Eden's principle was a true exposition of the law as it stood, according to which the police were bound to protect persons and property from unlawful violence, and to abstain from entering into disputes respecting alleged contracts, which were only cognizable by the Civil Courts. In the case in question no claim was made of the ownership or possession of the land entered upon, which were confessedly the *raiayats'*.

In the month of August Sir J. P. Grant, while on a tour by water through a part of the Bengal districts, received petitions from numerous *raiayats* of the Nadia district, complaining that in indigo cases they did not obtain due protection and redress from the Magistrate; that *raiayats* obnoxious to the factory were frequently kidnapped, and that other acts of great violence were committed with impunity in open day. These complaints met with the consideration their importance deserved. It appeared after due inquiry that, on the whole, the petitioners had not always received that redress from the law, and that practical protection from the police, to which they were entitled. Some of the cases, though many months old, had not been disposed of, and one case, in which a *raiayat*, after having been wounded in an affray in which factory people were the aggressors was carried off from factory to factory, and undoubtedly died in durance from the effects of his wounds, was most weakly and improperly treated at the commencement. The local authorities were admonished that such remissness on their part could not fail to produce in the minds of the natives a suspicion of partiality. They were directed vigorously to prosecute all pending cases, and to bring them to such a termination as might satisfy the ends of justice. As the year advanced, complaints on both sides began to thicken. In November 1859, an influential planter in the Nadia district represented to Government that a spirit of opposition to the factory was manifesting itself in the conduct and action of his *raiayats*, and that to encourage this opposition a rumour had been sedulously circulated that the Government was

opposed to indigo planting. On the other hand, numerous petitions were received from the *raiayats* complaining of cruel oppressions practised upon them by the planters, and of the compulsory cultivation of a crop, which they represented not only as unprofitable, but as entailing upon them a harassing, vexatious, and distasteful interference.

On the 10th of February 1860, a representation was submitted by the Commissioner of Nadia from another planter in the Nadia district, alleging that mischief had been done in the indigo factories under his management, by the issue, from the Deputy Magistrate's court at Kalaroa, in the district of Barasat, of a *parwana*, on the subject of the interference of the police in indigo disputes. This *parwana* was said to be based on the correspondence of 1859, previously mentioned. It appeared on inquiry that, although the publication of a *parwana* by the Deputy Magistrate was certainly not a discreet measure, there was no proof that it had done any harm anywhere, whilst all the circumstances of time and place were against the supposition of its having had any influence in Nadia, where no one probably ever knew of it.

To petitions from *raiayats* complaining of indigo cultivation, Sir J. P. Grant's reply was, that *raiayats* who had contracted to cultivate indigo must expect to be forced to fulfil their obligations; but no *raiayat* was forced to contract to cultivate who did not chose to do so.

In March, when Sir J. P. Grant returned to the Presidency from his tour in Bihar, his attention was directed to reports regarding misunderstandings between the planters and *raiayats* which were represented as likely to lead to serious consequences. A very general indisposition on the part of the *raiayats* to cultivate indigo during the ensuing season had been manifested. The same subject was pressed upon his attention by a deputation from the Indigo Planters' Association, who, at an interview, laid before him a petition from their main body. The Association represented the state of feeling manifested by the *raiayats*, attributing it in part to a mistaken belief as to the views of Government in regard to the cultivation of indigo. To protect their interest, thus endangered, the Association asked for two things: *first*, that Government would take steps to remove the mistaken impression stated to exist among the *raiayats*:

second, that a special law should be enacted to make the breach of an agreement to cultivate indigo punishable summarily by a Magistrate. To the first prayer, Sir J. P. Grant at once acceded. A Notification was issued, on the 14th March 1860, having for its object the correction of any erroneous ideas as to the wishes and policy of the Government, and impressing upon the *raiyats* the necessity of fulfilling existing engagements.

The second prayer involved questions of a very serious nature. On the one hand there was the fact that laws and Courts already existed to redress any grievances proceeding from breach of contract or other causes ; on the other, there was reason for believing that a great commercial calamity was threatened by the refusal of a combination among the mass of *raiyats* to fulfil lawful contracts for the approaching season, duly entered into, and on which actual cash advances had been received. The danger was a great, a sudden and a pressing one. Sir J. P. Grant came to the conclusion that the regular procedure was inadequate to the occasion, and that a special law of limited application as to time was called for, which should, however, be accompanied by a promise of full and thorough inquiry into the past practice, and thereafter of a well-considered law which should afford equal and complete protection to the *raiyat* and to the planter. In accordance with his views, a Bill was introduced to the Legislature on the 24th, and passed as Act XI of 1860 on the 31st of March. It was "an Act to enforce the fulfilment of indigo contracts and to provide for the appointment of a Commission of inquiry."

The Act made temporary provision for enforcing, by summary process, the execution of agreements to cultivate indigo during the current season, for which an advance in cash had been received, except agreements obtained by fraud, force, or unlawful intimidation ; and it provided for the punishment of certain unlawful acts connected with such cultivation, namely, intimidating or attempting to intimidate persons with the intention of inducing them to break their agreements, maliciously destroying or damaging, or commanding, compelling or persuading others to destroy or damage any growing crop of indigo.

The Act also made provision for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into and report on the system and practice of indigo

planting and the relations between the indigo planters and the *raiayats*, and holders of land in Bengal. It provided for the filling up of vacancies among the Commissioners in case of the death or resignation of any of them, and for the attendance and examination of witnesses.

In the meantime, the excitement against the cultivation of indigo had become so strong as to lead to acts of violence in some of the indigo districts. The first disturbances occurred in the Aurungabad sub-division, where the Ancoora factory, belonging to Mr. Andrews, and the factory at Baniagaon, belonging to Mr. Lyon, were attacked by a mob of *lathials* and *raiayats*. In the district of Malda, the Bakrabad factory, also belonging to Mr. Andrews, was similarly attacked and plundered. It appeared upon inquiry that the *raiayats* in this part of the country had been goaded into rising by the long continued oppressions and extortions of the factory servants. While, therefore, the rioters who were concerned in the disturbances were promptly punished, stringent measures were ordered to be taken to bring to justice those whose oppressive acts lay at the root of all this evil. In the districts of Nadia and Jessor, although the excitement was as strong as anywhere else, no disturbances of a serious nature occurred. In the district of Pabna, a Deputy Magistrate, with a small party of military police was (partly in consequence of his own injudicious conduct) repulsed by a body of armed *lathials*, who had assembled to resist the cultivation of indigo. On receipt of intelligence of the first of these occurrences, Government at once acted with promptness and vigour. Troops were rapidly collected in the districts where the excitement prevailed, and by a judicious display of force in suitable places the *raiayats* were overawed, and all tendency to any violent outbreak was suppressed. The best available Magistrates were placed over the indigo districts and the staff of Magisterial officers in those districts was considerably strengthened. On the passing of the new indigo Act, Sir J. P. Grant issued certain instructions to the local Magistrates, enjoining them carefully and patiently to sift the evidence and to decide in the truest spirit of equity all cases instituted under it. Subsequent results proved that these cautions were needed. Legal opinion on several doubtful points connected with the practical operation of the law was obtained, and circulated for the information and guidance of all officers engaged in carrying it out. The number of

suits under the Act in the Nadia district increased so largely towards the end of May as to threaten to stop all the regular work of the district. Upon an application from the Commissioner, 2 Principal *Sadar Amins*, with Magisterial powers, were specially deputed to Nadia for the trial of the breach of contract cases, the Magisterial officers reverting to their own proper work, including the trial of cases under the penal clauses of the Act. Except in Nadia, the Indigo Act was not worked to any very great extent. And, notwithstanding the great excitement displayed at the commencement of the season in 3, out of the 4 excited districts, the usual or nearly the usual quantity of indigo was sown. In the month of June, some apprehensions of a breach of the peace were entertained in the district of Pabna, in consequence of certain differences between the *raiyats* and planters of 2 of the largest concerns ; but these differences were amicably adjusted by the exertions of the district authorities. Difficulties had also been experienced by planters in the district of JESSORE in obtaining delivery of the ripe indigo plant ; but these were met by some judicious concessions on their part.

The Indigo Commission.
W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq., c. s. President. R. Temple, Esq., c. s. Member. Rev. J. Sale, to represent the interests of the *raiyats* in the Committee, and the Missionaries. W. F. Ferguson, Esq., nominated by the Indigo Planters' Association to represent the interests of that body; and Babu Chandra Mohan Chatterji, nominated by the British Indian Association to represent the landholders' interest.

named in the margin were appointed to form the Commission. Two private sittings were held on the 14th and 16th of May 1860, when the course of action to be followed was determined upon and a list of witnesses was drawn up. The public sittings commenced on the 18th of May and terminated on the 14th of August. With the exception of a fortnight, when the Commission sat at Krishnagar, the meetings were all held in Calcutta. The number of witnesses examined was 134, of whom 15 were officials and servants of Government, covenanted and uncovenanted ; 21 were or had been planters ; 8 Missionaries ; 13 native *zamindars* or *talukdars* ; and 77 *raiyats*, tenant proprietors, or occupiers of land.

The Report, dated 27th August 1860, was signed by Messrs. Seton-Karr and Sale, Babu C. M. Chatterji and, with a reservation, by Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Temple. Their Report. Appended to the Report was a Minute by Sir R. Temple in which

Mr. Fergusson concurred ; also a Minute by Mr. Fergusson, and a reply to it, signed by 3 of the Commissioners.

The evidence collected by the Commission bore on every point connected with indigo cultivation, as practised in different parts of Bengal ; on the attitude of the planters to *zamindars* and *raiayats*, and on the feelings of natives, high and low, as regards indigo ; on the profitableness of the cultivation to the *raiayat* or the reverse ; on the cultivation of the poppy, and on agricultural pursuits generally ; on the conduct of the police and the executive authorities, on the tenures of land and the facilities for its acquisition : on the working of certain laws ; and on the general condition, advancement, and social prosperity of the country. The subject of indigo planting had for many years engaged the attention of the public and had occasioned much controversy in the columns of the Indian Press and of periodicals. The main features of the question at issue were thus formulated. It was asserted on the one hand that the cultivation of indigo was not voluntary on the part of the *raiayat* ; that he was compelled to plough, sow, and weed his land, and to cut and cart the plant at times when he would prefer being engaged in other agricultural work of superior profit ; that the land devoted to indigo was selected by the servants of the planters, was the best land very often, and was sometimes forcibly ploughed up, to be resown with indigo when it was already sown with other crops ; that the cultivation was thus rendered irksome and harassing to the *raiayat* ; that he invariably became indebted to the factory and was obliged to bequeath his debts to his posterity, which almost deprived them of personal freedom ; that he was oppressed by the servants of the factory, kidnapped, imprisoned and outraged ; that the planters used unjustifiable means to obtain estates in *patni* from the *zamindars* ; and that the system generally was vicious in theory, injurious in practice and radically unsound.

On the other hand, it was maintained that the rule of the planter, as proprietor of lands, was milder and more temperate than that of the native ; that the object of the planter in securing *zamindari* rights, was to have that influence over his tenants, without which, from interference on the part of others, he could not carry on the cultivation properly ; that the *zamindar*, aware of this, extorted exorbitant terms from the planter ; that the planter's difficulties were increased by the jealousy and suspicion of the executive authorities, the

corruptness of the police, the distance of the Courts and the slowness of legal procedure ; and that his presence in the country was beneficial to the natives and the Government, in diffusing civilization, protection and progress.

The Report gave an account of the various systems of indigo cultivation existing in Bengal and Bihar : and divided the subjects of inquiry into 3 heads : (1) the truth or falsehood of the charges made against the system and the planters : (2) the changes required to be made in the system, as between manufacturer and cultivator, such as could be made by the heads of concerns themselves : (3) the changes required in the laws or administration, such as could only originate with, and be carried out by, the legislative and executive authorities.

Sir J. P. Grant's Minute of 17th December 1860 is the best comment on the Report and the whole situation, and will be found *in extenso* at the end of this Chapter.

The temporary Act of 1860 for the summary enforcement of contracts for the cultivation of indigo ceased to be in operation on the 4th October. On receipt of the

Subsequent occurrences and action of Government

Act in England Sir Charles Wood had written :—

“ In regard to the first point, it is to be observed that the authority of the Magistrate is to be called into action on the complaint of the planter for the enforcement of indigo contracts, under specified penalties, in the event of a failure to perform the same. The provision of the Act, by which a violation by a *raiyat* of a civil contract, of the nature specified in the Act, is made the ground of criminal prosecution by the planter, appears to the Home Government to be open to serious objection.” As the Act had already been brought into operation, was for a limited duration, and had been passed to provide for a sudden emergency, the Secretary of State did not disallow it, while declining to perpetuate it. The moral effect of the Act and of the public assurance given to the complaining *raiyats* that proved grievances should be remedied for future seasons, was such that most of the planters were able to complete to a great extent their spring sowings. Some difficulty was experienced by the planters in securing the cutting and delivery of the ripe indigo plant, but this was got over by the exertions of the Magisterial authorities, and in some instances by the judicious concessions made by some of the planters. In the autumn of 1860 things looked very critical. “ I assure you,”